

THE INTERLOCKING WORLDS OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Who killed America's communities?

HOW TO GET THE CITY OF ITS FISCAL MESS

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Report

CRIME AND COMPUTERS

Computerworld magazine says that its investigation has uncovered evidence suggesting that organized crime uses the latest in computer technology to pull off some of its endeavors. The mob's estimated take from illegal gambling operations alone is about \$28 billion annually — or about as much as IBM grossed last year. Just to keep track of this much money, the magazine says, requires sophisticated computerized records.

The mob is also alleged to be using large-scale "electronic funds transfers" to launder its income and keep it hidden from federal investigators. In addition, it is seeking methods to gain electronic access to the FBI's crime data base so it can learn what's in the dossiers and perhaps even change the data.

Computerworld reports that two years ago Oklahoma police raided a sophisticated book-making ring that used computers to keep track of its bets, its customers and various race results. The system was even equipped with a "raid button" that, when pressed, would have destroyed all the data. The police, however, got to the equipment before the raid button could be pushed.

THE POT MARKET

The value of the marijuana crop grown inside the US is expected to surpass the \$5 billion mark this year. The estimate comes from the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws, which reports that the domestic production of pot has been skyrocketing since 1978. Ironically, says NORML, American government support for the paraquat spraying program against marijuana fields in Mexico seems to be the single biggest factor in convincing domestic traffickers to grow their own. This is one way they can avoid importing weed that might be contaminated with herbicides. NORML says that in the past two years, marijuana has become the number one cash crop in Hawaii and California; and officials in Oklahoma estimate that pot is the number two crop there, trailing only wheat.

Meanwhile the US Department of Agriculture reports that illegal pot plantations, some of them several acres in size, are thriving in virtually every national forest in the Pacific northwest, California and the south.

SOMEONE once described downtown Washington as looking as if it had been poured out of an ice tray.

ANTI-RADIATION PILLS

Sweden has launched a program to provide potassium iodide tablets to all Swedish citizens living within fifteen miles of the country's four operating nuclear plants. Potassium iodide is a blocking agent which is absorbed by the thyroid gland and could prevent the absorption of potentially cancer-causing radioactive iodine which is likely to be released during a nuclear accident. According to The Critical Mass Energy Journal, ten percent of Sweden's 7.2 million citizens will be given the tablets free of charge. The government will pick up the \$540,000 cost each year, and additional tablets will be available without a prescription at pharmacies.

Following the accident at Three Mile Island, US officials talked about stockpiling potassium iodide tablets at locations near the 72 operating US reactors but no federal policy has yet been established.

UFOS TOO SENSITIVE

The National Security Agency has been told by a federal judge that it does not have to release 135 top secret documents relating to UFO sightings. A group called Citizens Against UFO Secrecy had filed suit against NSA, accusing the agency of covering up evidence that would help prove that flying saucers exist. But Judge Gerhard Gesell — after reading a secret 121-page report written for him by the NSA, ruled that the documents should not be made public "in the interest of national security."

Search for early subscribers

The Gazette is coming up on its fifteenth anniversary and would like to recognize its early subscribers who are still with us. The problem is that our confused and disjointed archives don't reveal who you are. So if you subscribed to the Gazette prior to 1971 let us know. We'd like some documentary evidence such as a mailing label from an old issue. Send the original or photocopy to the Gazette, 1739 Conn. Ave. NW, DC 20009. If you turn out to be one of the oldest subscribers still with us, we'll have a surprise for you.

Peter Gersten, a New York lawyer representing the UFO researchers, says that documents already pried loose from the CIA and the NSA indicate that American spy agencies have been classifying reports on UFO sightings for more than two decades. Gersten says Pentagon memos reveal that in late 1975 US military leaders put at least 11 bases on special alert after unidentified flying objects were spotted hovering over three US nuclear installations. Gersten believes that some high intelligence officials have concluded that UFOs are "highly technically advanced space vehicles."

JUNTA AMENDMENT?

Texas congressmember Henry Gonzalez is calling for the repeal of the 25th Amendment, saying that it opens the way for a possible takeover of the government. Under its provisions, a president may be removed from office if members of his cabinet believe he is mentally or physically unable to rule the country. Gonzalez claims that back in 1974, shortly before Richard Nixon resigned, Alexander Haig and Henry Kissinger were working behind the scenes to remove Nixon from office under the 25th Amendment and that following the attempted assassination of Ronald Reagan, Haig was again working behind the scenes to set the stage for Reagan's possible removal. Says Gonzales: "The right to judge a president's ability to serve in office ought never to be given to the hands of a small, un-elected, undefined group of people." Such a decision should be left up to an elected body officials such as Congress.

SYNFUELS AND BABIES

New discoveries at the Oak Ridge Laboratory indicate that synfuel wastes, and probably synfuels themselves, may contain powerful birth-defect causing agents. Oak Ridge researcher Barbara Walton says that insect "monsters" were produced when the eggs of crickets were exposed to synfuel by-products. Writing in Science Magazine, Walton says the insects that hatched sometimes had one or two extra eyes, two or more heads and branched antennae. The project to produce synthetic fuels from coal is expected to produce millions of tons of potentially hazardous by-products.

NURSES AND MEDICINE

The California State Board of Registered Nursing has declared that nurses can prescribe medicine. The landmark ruling allows nurses to enter a realm that traditionally has been reserved exclusively for doctors. Under the new policy, nurses will be allowed to prescribe such medicines as birth control pills and antibiotics for the treatment of infection. The list of permissible drugs is expected to grow with time. The move comes at a time when California is experiencing an extreme shortage of nurses. Paul Mahan, director of personnel services of the California Hospital Association, explains, "Nurses no longer want to be considered handmaids; and they are in a position to find better opportunities in other fields of work."

HIDDEN NUCLEAR COSTS

A Department of Energy report concludes that American taxpayers have quietly subsidized the private nuclear industry to the tune of almost \$40 billion over the past thirty years. The report notes that, when all the federal tax money involved in nuclear development is taken into account, nuclear generated electricity actually costs Americans about twice as much as the atomic industry claims it does. The report, obtained by Critical Mass Journal, says that much of the money went into designing early reactors, providing low-cost fuel to operators and guaranteeing loans to plant builders.

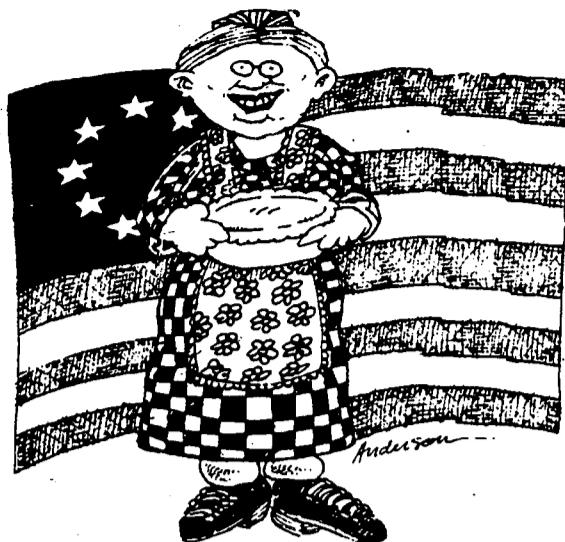
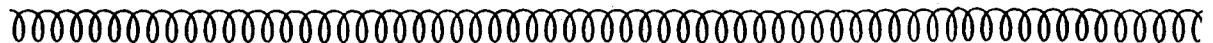
PARTIAL VOTE FOR TEENAGERS?

A research group in Finland is proposing that Finish teenagers be given one-half a vote in local elections. The Mannerheim Society, a group advocating children's rights and protection, says granting the partial votes is a way to improve teens's social status and prepare them for adulthood. Under the plan, 15-17 year olds would get special ballots that counted for only half-a-vote.

MARIJUANA USE TEST

A new test has been developed that enables police or doctors to detect traces of marijuana in the urine for up to two weeks after use. The National Institute on Drug Abuse says the test is known as the "emission cannabinoid assay" and is more than 95 percent accurate. It takes only a minute to complete and costs only \$1.75 per test. The American Council on Marijuana, a New York-based anti-pot organization, is hailing the test as an "historical break-through." The Council's Dr. Robert Dupont says, "The test will help pediatricians and parents determine whether their child's grades or ill health is the result of marijuana use." Dupont says that prisons and parole boards are already using the test, and that highway safety studies are using it to research pot-related accident causes.

MAYBE THEY COULD PUT IT IN THE NORTH-EAST CORRIDOR INSTEAD OF UTAH: Each day the MX missile consumes about \$4.5 million in research and development costs, although Congress hasn't approved the system yet. Thus in 180 days, the MX uses up the entire annual budget of Amtrak.



Apple Pie

First a note to all freelance writers. Far East Food Products (70 Huron Street, Toronto, Canada) is looking for short slogans to put in their fortune cookies. The material must be short, original and meaningful. It can be about anything including politics, sex and religion. The fee is 15 cents per message used. But at least you'll get published.

The Interplanetary Society for the Advancement of Cosmic Sisterhood is picketing a Marin County, California, theatre showing "Star Wars" on the grounds that only two women have speaking roles in the film. Besides Princess Leia, the other woman with a speaking role is a nameless character who says, "Stand by, Ion Control. Fire." The picket signs say such things as "Even Chewie had a mother. If only Darth had listened to his" and "Princess Leia needs someone to relate to besides druids, wookiees and all-male soldiers."

Members of the group, who prefer to remain anonymous, are picketing the theater wearing silver bags on their heads. Some sources, however, say that the women may be employees of Lucasfilm who are disgruntled that the company had no plans to introduce new female characters in the next "Star Wars" sequel.

As long-standing fans of the spheroid pumpkinseed, we are disturbed that the American media is ignoring the fact that Federal Express is planning to buy ten airships from a British company to be delivered in the late eighties. They will be used to carry small packages between cities in this country. The airships will carry nonurgent packages. The dirigibles will be 580 feet long and will be able to carry 75 tons for 1200 miles at 100 mph.

The Wall Street Journal says that finding a company willing to hire a former male homemaker is nearly impossible. The Journal quotes the heads of a Los Angeles-based employment and recruiting firm as saying that "The hurdles men face

returning to the job market are about three times greater" than those faced by women. "There isn't a male I know of in an executive position who would accept raising kids as a legitimate excuse for not working for three years." The Journal says that employers believe that if a man left the working world once for personal reasons he may very well do so again and thus be a poor risk.

The assistant city attorney in Sioux City recently wrote to Iowa State Code editor Wayne Faupel to complain about the official wording describing the state seal, which is described as including a "citizen soldier with plow in his rear." The attorney asked, "Please advise on whether 'in' is a publishing error, or whether the intent of the legislature was to insert a plow in the rear of citizen soldier."

Code editor Wayne Faupel wrote back, "I'm sorry to report that there is no mistake in section 1-A-1 of the code. The act was effective on March 4, 1847 and the poor soldier has gone through several wars with this impediment...I fear if it were taken out at this late date, he could scarcely sit down."

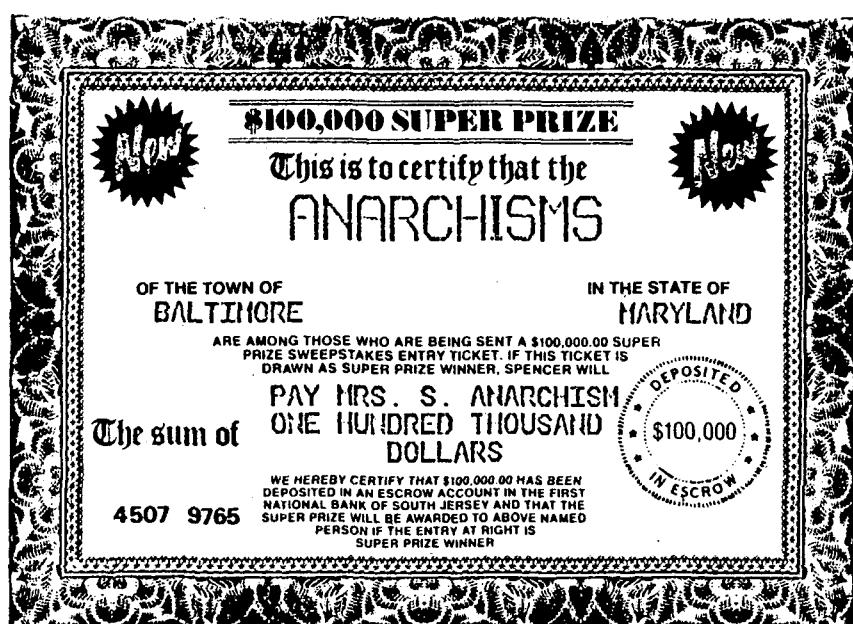
The New York Post reports that at least six former hostages have been writing their first-hand accounts about their 444 days in Iranian captivity, but that none has been able to interest a publisher. About the only hostage books being published are quickie books on the incident or pictorial works done by outsiders.

Bartender magazine is out with its annual survey on tippers in America and says the best are construction workers, homosexuals, people who depend on tips, and someone wearing a diamond pinkie ring. Politicians head the worst tipper list, allegedly because someone else is usually buying. Then come doctors, insurance agents, pipe smokers, teachers and 18-20 year olds. The magazine says that women, who last year were rated as good tippers, are now being classified as "tightwads."

America's first condominium for nudists is opening near Tampa, Florida. The developer and his wife say they screen out potential buyers who may be a bit "kinky" by spending a day with them, including some time together in a hot tub. He adds that sales are going so well that he plans to open up a nudist park for recreational vehicles right next door.

Cocaine has become the drug of the eighties according to statistics from the Drug Enforcement Administration. The DEA reports that during the first nine months of 1980, almost twice as much coke was seized by federal agents as in all of 1979. Meanwhile, the pot haul declined.





OUR FRIENDS at Social Anarchism magazine received the notice at left in the mail -- suggesting that the establishment is still trying to co-opt radicals however it can.

The recent fires in luxury highrise hotels in Las Vegas have pushed up sales of smoke detectors by 30 percent according to Chain Store Age.

Sign of the times: A California state legislator has introduced a bill that would require movie theatres to post notices in their lobbies, telling customers they will be subjected to on-screen advertising. The bill also requires similar warnings in newspaper ads.

Don Vetterling, civil defense director of Greenfield, Mass., may be a little busy come the nuclear holocaust. He has found to his chagrin that state civil defense officials plan to use Greenfield to dump the citizens of Cambridge and Shrewsbury in case of attack. Further, Connecticut plans to send all residents of Stamford, Derby and Woodbridge, to Greenfield as well. Greenfield, normally a town of 18,000 would swell to a quarter million in such an event. Says Vetterling: "Isn't that ridiculous? I don't know why I'm so popular all of a sudden, but it's going to be a disaster."

We're sorry to tell you this but if you are living with someone to whom you are not married you are a posselque. The Census Bureau has rejected lovers, paramours, roommates, and cohabitating couples in favor of the new term, which is derived from persons of the opposite sex sharing living quarters.

If you find it harder to get close to Dan Rather than it was to snuggle

YOU USED TO be able to love a whole lot of things. You could love your parents, you could love your country, you could love your god, you could love your children, you could love a member of the same sex, your friend; you could love a member on the opposite sex. After World War One, somehow we were not permitted to love any of those things anymore. If you loved your parents, you probably had an oedipus complex. If you loved your god, you were unscientific and probably uneducated. If you loved your country, you were conservative. If you loved your children, you were being too possessive. If you loved your woman friend, you were a homosexual. So there was nothing left but a member of the opposite sex. All of a sudden, the mate had to bear everything. Nobody can live up to it. -- Toni Morrison, quoted in Vogue

Add to your list of dread diseases "punk eye." Punk eye, according to Dr. Thomas Caspari in an article in the New England Journal of Medicine is caused by dancing to punk rock by jumping up and down rapidly. The symptoms are "striking, scary-looking red eyes" caused by broken blood vessels. Dr. Caspari says the affliction can be cured by abstaining from pogoing while the eyes heal.

And now for our annual report on the religious preferences of students at the University of California at Berkeley as indicated on registration cards. Among the religious affiliations of the Berkeley students are the Evolutionary Church of Cosmic Petrodollars, the Holy Order of Recombinant DNA Failures, the First Church of Appliantology and Frisbetarianism. This latter sect, according to one adherent, is based on "the belief that when you die, your soul goes up on the roof and no one can get it down."

Figures from the National Safety Council show that in 1979 nine million women drivers were involved in automobile accidents, as compared with 20 million men. The council figures also show that in the case of serious accidents involving injury or loss of life, 52,700 men were involved but only 12,500 women.

There are now more Rolls Royces in Orange County, California, than there are in Britain.

Here, at last, is some good news about American presidents. Out of 39 presidents, only two, Pierce and Grant, were alcoholics. This is a low incidence of alcoholism for a sample of males of northern European ancestry.

NASA officials say that the two space shuttle astronauts were fully briefed for the worst possible scenario, namely that they might get stuck in space. Asked what would happen if the shuttle engines malfunctioned preventing a return to earth, NASA's Maurice Parker said, "Well, we don't have suicide kits aboard the craft if that's what you're asking." Parker added that the pilots, as with astronauts before them, had been told that shutting off their oxygen systems or simply opening a hatch would result in what he described as a "quick and very painless death."

It now costs more than a penny to make a penny, so the US mint is planning to make them out of zinc instead of copper. The new coins will look the same but be lighter.

US DISTRICT judge Luther Bohanon today said he probably will approve the Oklahoma State Corrections Department's new guidelines for the gassing of inmates.

Bohanon's comment came as he took the issue under advisement following testimony today from corrections director Larry Meachum on the new policy.

Meachum testified inmates would be gassed in their cells only in extremely volatile or near-riot situations. He said the policy would limit guards to using only one can of chemical on an inmate.

-- Oklahoma City Times

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COMMUNITY ON THE ROPES

Frank Viviano

Consider first a physical fact: an area of east-side Detroit known as Chandler Park. When I was growing up there in the mid-Fifties, it was a poor but vital neighborhood.

The last time I returned to visit Chandler Park a few years ago, I found the house I had grown up in abandoned. It had been robbed of its copper fixtures, set afire and gutted. There were other houses like it, vandalized, empty and silent, up and down the block where my neighbors once lived.

Consider now a philosophical theory: Decentralization. It helped elect Ronald Reagan to the presidency, largely because its promise to shift decision-making to the local level was a remarkable marriage of philosophical opposites. Who could argue with a theory that suddenly found the political right's demand for termination of the welfare state compatible with the left's insistence on "power to the people?"

But the point of government is not philosophy. It is the concrete reality embodied in places like Chandler Park. And long before Ronald Reagan made decentralization his war cry, such places had swallowed up dozens of well-meaning efforts to restore the concept of community control in the United States.

The pure, bleak truth is that real communities have been in scarce supply in this country for decades—and without them decentralization is at best a meaningless abstraction. At worst, it could prove devastating to the chances for true community revival.

There was certainly nothing abstract or meaningless about the death of Chandler Park. The life of that neighborhood waned with the passing of simple, unpretentious institutions—Savarino's Meat Market, Henry's Drugstore, the Harper Theater, a branch library. Because we knew them and could walk to them—because they helped define the very geography of our neighborhood—these places made community a palpable thing.

Then, in 1955 the highway lobby caught up with us. With the enthusiastic prompting of the oil industry, housing developers and Detroit's own automakers, Republican President Dwight Eisenhower announced a breathtaking \$101 billion highway subsidy program. It was the largest federal subsidy in history, and it helped ignite a boom that forever transformed the American landscape and way of life.

What it meant for us was the concrete arrow of the Edsel Ford Expressway, ripping through the heart of Chandler Park. It meant that the one block walk to Savarino's now required a 10 block roundtrip via the nearest pedestrian bridge. It meant that my neighbors began using the expressway which separated them from each other—and from the institutions which bound them together—to travel to suburban shopping centers, and eventually to new suburban homes.

The small shops of Chandler Park were drowned in a sea of bankruptcies as business flowed down the Edsel Ford to supermarket chains and department stores. Among the victims was my family's fruit company, which had been selling oranges and bananas to Detroiters for fifty years.

By 1960, the expressway and all it represent-

ed, from suburban development to mass-produced, television-marketed lifestyles, had killed Chandler Park.

Nevertheless, President Reagan often conjures up the fifties—precisely the era in which American neighborhood life was most thoroughly ravaged—as a model for Americans who are plainly weary of the consequences of community breakdown. It is an ironic testament to the shortness of the national memory, which requires us to repeat the same mistakes and relearn the same lessons with generational regularity.

Perhaps the most important of those forgotten lessons is the fallability of all simple, across-the-board remedies. There is no denying that many of the federal experiments in social engineering launched in the liberal sixties have backfired miserably. But the wild swing back to decontrol and unhampered privatism overlooks a fundamental lesson of the conservative fifties: Private enterprise played a major role in the destruction of American community life. Indeed, a case might be made that the private-generated suburban "revolution" is the most profound example of disruptive social engineering the U.S. has ever experienced.

The consequences of that revolution for Chandler Park residents in the years following 1955 will sound grimly familiar to most Americans. After our neighborhood entered its decline, we Parksiders embarked on an endless series of relocations, to suburbs which proved only waystations on the way to other suburbs; and later, to rehabilitated urban townhouses if we had joined the privileged, or through successions of decaying slums and housing projects if we remained poor. The old patterns of segregation, which emphasized race and nationality, gave way gradually to something superficially liberal and only by virtue of "circumstance" exclusive. Few blacks, after all, could afford to live in high-income apartment complexes.

But what linked such complexes to government-subsidized housing projects, and to blue or white collar suburban developments alike, was a characteristic deadly to them all: profound transience in place of community.

This is not to say that the *idea* of community no longer has power. In fact, its pull helps explain why so many young people are attracted to places like San Francisco's North Beach, where I now live, or to Brooklyn's Park Slope, Boston's North End and Philadelphia's Germantown. These places once had a strong community identity which appeals to the children of institutionalized transience.

Sadly, however, our arrival often means gentrification—soaring living costs, new social values, the departure of the human sources of community identity and the installation of yet another transient, homogeneous population. Kids disappear; old people disappear. The past and the future yield to an omnipresent, permanent "today." Drawn by the need for community, aided and abetted by private real estate companies, private contractors, private banks and the profit incentive which moves them all, the gentrifiers draw real community to a close.

But here in San Francisco there is also a

district called the Ingleside which is very much a community. Population turnover is low and crime is exceedingly rare by local standards. Neither race nor wealth have much to do with that relative stability, however. Ingleside is basically blue collar, Filipino and black, the part of town where this tourist mecca's hotel maids, waitresses and short order cooks raise their families. There are lots of kids playing in the Ingleside streets, plenty of ma & pa grocery stores. People have a vested stake in keeping the Ingleside secure and friendly.

For such neighborhoods decentralization holds real promise. They have an institutional structure, an identity, a feeling of "belonging" that keeps the process of community fragmentation at bay. And there is someone to pass power down to: a genuine local leadership, produced by the immediate life of the community, rather than imposed by municipal politics or federal agencies.

In San Francisco's nearby Bayshore neighborhood, remembers former poverty program director John Dukes, "The real leadership was a group of women called 'the big five.' They knew everybody, they were plugged into all of the church and social groups. They could get things done that politicians only dream of." Like Ingleside, Bayshore was poor, non-white—and relatively crime-free, Dukes points out.

But the fact is that natural, cohesive institutions, 'big fives' and functional communities are the exceptions in contemporary America. What will decentralization do for the rest—for the condominium developments built expressly to serve the ethic of mobility, or for the Chandler Parks which have been destroyed by it?

What will it do for San Francisco's high-crime Tenderloin District, for example, where 25,000 people, many of them impoverished Southeast Asian refugees, attempt to build new lives without the benefit of language skills, dependable income, or the power attached to citizenship? Crammed six-to-the-room in dilapidated apartment buildings and residential hotels, these families earn an average of less than \$500 per month and spend more than one-third of it on rent.

Still, there is some possibility that the Inglesides of America—the real communities—will become less rare in the years ahead, if for all the wrong reasons. High interest rates, Proposition-13-style tax measures, the energy crisis and other resource shortages are conspiring to make Americans considerably less mobile, not by choice, but by sheer necessity.

Over the long run, that may mean stable neighborhood structure, a living reality which parallels our frustrated longing for something other than the lot of the permanent stranger.

But it won't happen overnight. Where there is no true community infrastructure—for the rich or the poor, for the suburban or the urban—wholesale decentralization is a policy made for the worst sort of social chaos.

In much of America today, it is only a euphemism for what could prove to be deadly neglect.

(c) PNS 1981

MR. SMITH COMES TO WASHINGTON

THE INTERLOCKING WORLDS OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Brint Dillingham

During his presidential campaign, Ronald Reagan frequently promised that, if elected, he would "get the government off the backs of the people." With the selection of William French Smith as his Attorney General, Reagan has signaled that at least the law enforcement arm of his government will stay off the backs of at least a few of the people—the privileged and dwindling few who control AT&T, Exxon and the rest of corporate America.

A descendant of a Harvard president, and a life member of both the General Society of Mayflower Descendants and the Sons of the American Revolution, Smith has declined to share his views on many of the burning issues of the day with the rest of us. He took few clear stands in his Senate confirmation hearings other than to express support for the death penalty, opposition to marijuana and his intention to retain membership in two discriminatory private clubs. As the New York Times described it:

Caution is admirable in a lawyer, and what a nominee doesn't say usually doesn't hurt. But Mr. Smith's blandness far exceeded lawyerly and even political prudence. He properly deferred some questions until he gets his Justice Department organized. As to most matters, however, Mr. Smith professed nearly total ignorance. Is it constitutional to give federal money to segregated state institutions? The issue has been on the public agenda since at least 1955; Mr. Smith said he'd look into it. What about price fixing, the crime condemned even by opponents of most Federal antitrust laws? Mr. Smith is the senior partner in a huge Los Angeles firm; he said he'd have to study that.

So extraordinary was Smith's reticence, in fact, that even case-hardened Senators who had seen the best evaders, obfuscators and, yes America, even a few practitioners of down-right terminal inexactitude parade before them over the years, were moved to comment. Biden of Delaware told the Senate: "Of every nominee in the last eight years that I have been here...I have never...even found anyone who had fewer answers to more questions than this nominee...He was devoid, almost totally devoid of an opinion on anything at all. He is the ultimate corporate lawyer. He hardly says anything, other than his rank, name and serial number."

Despite his overall reluctance to answer the most basic questions at his confirmation hearing, Smith, like his boss, has made himself emphatically clear in one area. The record of his statements and actions before, during and since the hearing make it clear that the vigorous enforcement of anti-trust and other statutes, regulations and policies designed to restrain the rampant corporate greed and concentration of wealth which form the heart of the nation's economic woes is to be a very low priority indeed at Smith's Justice Department.

Smith has spoken quietly but repeatedly of his distaste for anti-trust, anti-corporate concentration and anti-conflict of interest law enforcement, saying, in essence, that there has been too much of it in the recent past. Somewhat ironically, the conflict of interest laws have already caused Smith and his top deputy at Justice, Edward C. Schmultz, to recuse themselves from any participation in the largest anti-trust suit in American history, the AT&T case. Smith removed himself because of his former directorship of Pacific Telephone and Telegraph, an AT&T subsidiary. Schmultz, whose clients at the Wall Street law firm of White and Case had included the Business Roundtable, followed suit, reportedly because of corporate connections from his former law practice.

Because of the recusal of Justice's two top officials in the AT&T case, the need for a swift appointment of an Assistant Attorney General for Anti-trust became even more compelling than it might otherwise have been since a March deadline to either settle or try the blockbuster case was fast approaching. In view of the fact that some Senators who had sharply questioned his confirmation performance voted for him anyway on the promise, as Biden put it, that Smith would "rely on the Assistant Attorney Generals, and, in particular, that he will 'rely heavily' on the Assistant Attorney General for Anti-trust to make important policy decisions and to decide whether to pursue particular cases presently underway in the Department," it also seemed imperative that Reagan and Smith appoint someone devoid of all conflict of interest baggage to the anti-trust division.

It may have come as a bit of a shock to Biden and others, then, when Stanford University Law Professor William F. Baxter was chosen for the post. In a March 10 report to the Office of Government Ethics, Baxter disclosed that he had been a well-paid consultant to numerous major corporate interests, including Exxon and the American Petroleum Institute, and had, in fact, received a small (\$531.00) fee in February of this year as a consultant to Western Electric, the supply arm of AT&T. On March 19, Baxter also told senators at his confirmation hearing that five years ago AT&T had unsuccessfully sought his services in the government case. He denied that any of this would undermine his new position in the AT&T case, saying: "I'm quite firm none of those even vaguely raise a conflict of interest problem or even an appearance of conflict of interest problem...none is even an arguable basis" for disqualifying him from the AT&T case. Whatever the merits of Baxter's protestations, his other consultancies might raise even more important questions. For instance, the *Washington Star* reported on March 19 that:

An API spokesman said Baxter "did some research for us in 1979 and then he testified on the Hill regarding conglomerate merger legislation...for industry in general

but for the oil industry in particular." At the time, Baxter opposed legislation to limit acquisitions by big oil companies and to strengthen antitrust prohibitions against conglomerate mergers.

In short, it appears as though Baxter might be somewhat of a bust as a trust buster.

But again, Smith's disingenuous response to the faith Biden and others placed in his commitment seems highly predictable in light of what the Senate should have known from the public record. His own frank disclosure statements (including his stated intention to recuse himself from potential matters involving a number of past clients and business connections in addition to the AT&T matter), and a review of various corporate directories and Senate hearings and reports, show that over the last five years (at least) his law practice and his membership on various corporate and other boards have tied him intimately to America's corporate power centers. Because these ties are so extensive, there is now every indication that recusal will necessarily become the norm rather than the exception in Smith's anti-trust practices at the Justice Department.

* * *

Smith is the former president of the California Chamber of Commerce. He has served on the Board of Regents of the University of California for twelve years—three times as its chairman. He has already announced that he'll recuse himself from any Justice Department matters concerning that body because he insists on retaining his position on the board. His center of operations has been the Los Angeles law firm he joined in 1946 and left in January to join the new Reagan Administration. Until the Reagan election, he served as a director on the boards of numerous corporations, including Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company, Pacific Lighting, Pullman, Jorgenson Steel, Crocker National Corporation and Pacific Telephone and Telegraph.

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THE GIBSON, DUNN AND CRUTCHER CONNECTION

Until his confirmation, Smith was the senior partner in the giant Los Angeles corporate law firm of Gibson, Dunn and Crutcher. GD&C now has 225 partners and associates in offices in California, Washington, D.C., London and Paris. Among its many prominent clients are Textron (the nation's twenty-third largest defense contractor), Saudi Arabia's Ministry of Finance and the United Arab Emirates. Smith recently recused himself from any Justice Department matters relating to a number of corporations he listed as among his major personal clients, including Metromedia, Southern California Edison, Pacific Resources and Occidental Life Insurance Company. His most prominent client was (and, of course, remains) Ronald Reagan.

Perhaps GD&C's most prominent corporate client over the years has been the Times-Mirror Company, the firm with the nation's largest newspaper-based publishing empire and the parent company of the *Los Angeles Times*, the country's third largest daily. GD&C's half century long relationship with T-M and its founding family, the Chandlers, has gone far deeper than the ordinary lawyer-client relationship. In his book, *The Powers That Be*, David Halberstam said the Chandlers "invented Los Angeles." Gibson, Dunn and Crutcher was part of a network of financial, political and legal powers that aided that invention and its offspring which others have bitterly described as the "Los Angelesation" of California and the Southwest. Many examples of GD&C's powerful position in this process can be found in Gottlieb and Wolt's *Thinking Big, the Story of the Los Angeles Times*, including the following passage describing a 1934 meeting held to stop the pivotal EPIC campaign of Sinclair Lewis:

After the primary, these business forces prepared to use any means necessary to defeat this "spectre of socialism." Under Harry Chandler's initiative, a Los Angeles business group held a war council at the California Club, the informal headquarters of the local elite. Included were not only the conservative wing of the establishment—such individuals as Chandler, Chamber of Commerce President Byron Hanna, Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company's Asa Call, the Gibson, Dunn and Crutcher lawyer Sam Haskins—but also representatives of the progressive wing of the Republican party. The group knew it

had a difficult candidate to sell, one who was capable of making mistakes if left to his own devices. They decided to centralize all fund-raising and expenditure decisions for the campaign under the charge of the group's chairman, C.C. Teague, and its secretary, Asa Call. Through business contacts, the group was able to raise an enormous sum for the campaign—estimates have ranged from several hundred thousand to ten million dollars.

In recent years, the firm has not only represented some T-M interests, but GD&C partner Daniel Frost has served on its board of directors.

Through its legal representation and through Frost's board membership, GD&C is linked through T-M interlocks with numerous major corporations.

T-M board members and some of the major corporate interlocks they provide include: T-M chairman, Franklin Murphy, a director of Bank of America (the nation's largest bank) and Ford (the largest truck manufacturer and fifth largest company in the country); T-M Director Albert V. Casey, Chief Executive Officer of American Airlines, and Director of Colgate Palmolive. American Airlines is the nation's second largest airline. Casey's brother, John, is vice-chairman of the seventh largest airline, Braniff International. Colgate Palmolive is the country's leading rice producer, as well as being a leader in cosmetics production.

Both Frost (of GD&C and T-M) and T-M officer Robert Erburu (a director of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce) are also directors of the Tejon Ranch which by the 1970's had become the fourth largest landholder in California. Sitting on Tejon's board with Frost and Erburu is Sidney Weinberg of Goldman-Sachs, who is also a director of famed union buster J.P. Stevens, as well as of Corning Glass.

Another Times-Mirror board member, Walter Gerber, sat with William French Smith himself on the board of Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company. Gerber also sits on the board of one of Smith's major personal clients, Southern California Edison.

In serving as Southern California Edison's lawyer, Smith represented the nation's seventh largest utility. Smith also served on the board of the country's twelfth largest utility, Pacific Lighting.

Another major personal client of Smith's at GD&C was Occidental Life Insurance Company. Occidental is the largest subsidiary of the

giant Transamerica conglomerate, and the fourteenth largest life insurer in America.

And, as lawyer for Pacific Resources, Smith was representing a firm directly interlocked with Castle and Cooke, the fourth largest landholder in Hawaii and the nation's top producer of bananas, pineapples and lettuce.

SMITH'S CORPORATE DIRECTORSHIPS

As with his GD&C ties, Smith's corporate directorships placed him in the midst of a huge network of interlocks with major financial, energy, agribusiness, transportation and other corporate powers.

Serving with Smith on the board of PMI, for instance, were one or more directors of the following corporate giants: Carter Hawley Hale Stores, the nation's fourth largest department store chain; Fluor Corporation, the fifth largest construction engineering firm in the country (the director in question being J. Robert Fluor, a chief right wing sponsor of Reagan's Interior Secretary James G. Watt); Del Monte, a subsidiary of R.J. Reynolds, and the country's largest canner and among its top fruit growers; Lockheed, the third largest commercial aircraft manufacturer and fourth largest defense contractor in the country; Western Bancorp, and Wells Fargo (the country's tenth and twelfth largest banks); and Southern California Edison.

As a board member of Pacific Lighting, Smith sat with another Lockheed director, as well as directors from: Kaiser, the nation's third largest aluminum producer; TICOR, the nation's largest title insurance writer (and a subsidiary of Southern Pacific); and Foremost McKesson, the conglomerate that leads the nation in wholesale drug sales and ranks fourth in dairy products.

General Alexander Haig has contextualized the Polish watchpot somewhat nuancely. How, though, if the situation decontrols, can he stoppage it mountingly conflagrating? Haig...paradoxed his auditors by abnormalizing his responds....He techniqued a new way to vocabulary his thoughts so as to informationally uncertain anybody listening about what he had actually implicationed. At first it seemed that what [he] was impenetrabing was at basic clear...But close observers have alternative that idea. What Haig is doing, they concept, is to decouple the Russians from everything they are moded to....Kremlin experts thought they could recognition the wordforms of American diplomacy. Now they have to afreshly language themselves up before they what what the Americans are subtling....If that is how General Haig wants to nervous breakdown the Russian leadership, he may be shrewding his way to the biggest diplomatic invent since Clausewitz. Unless, that is, he schizophrenes his allies first.

-THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN

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On the board of Pullman, Inc., Smith served with directors from Alcoa, the largest aluminum producer and bauxite miner in America, and 20th Century Fox.

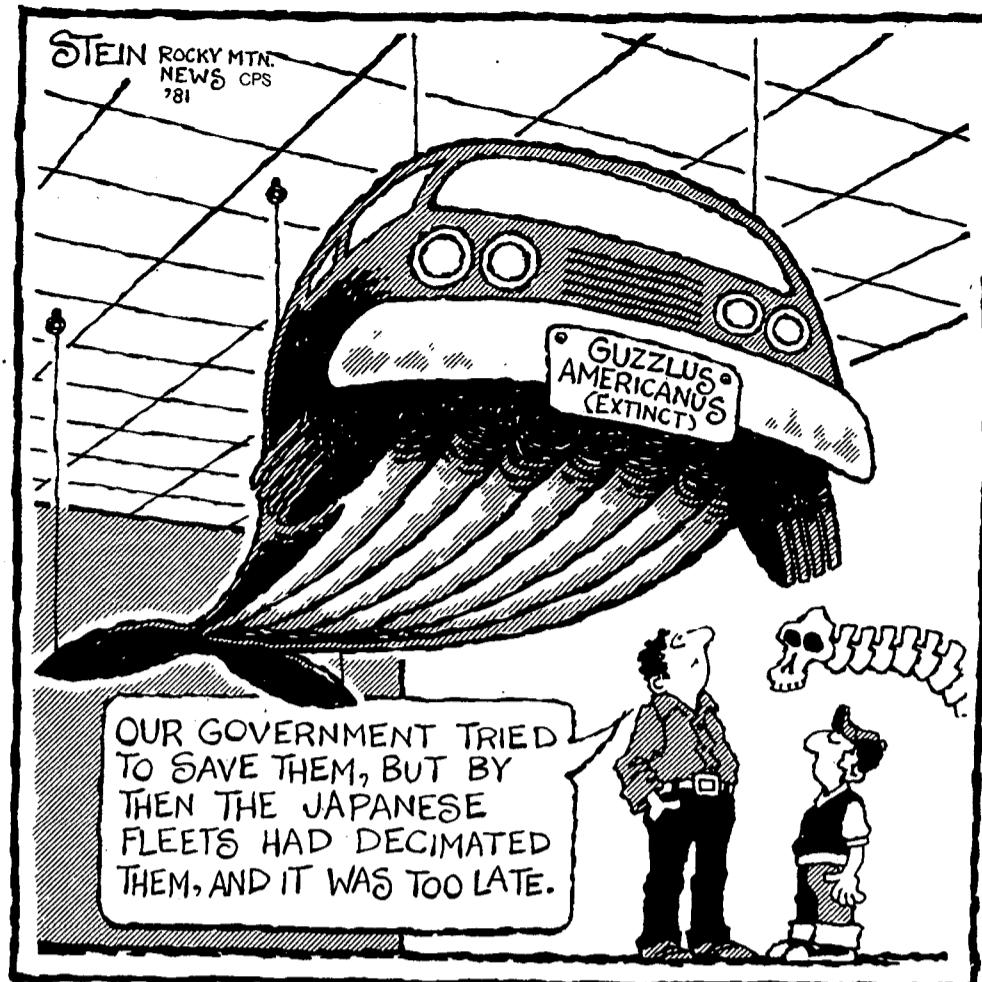
Smith also sat on the boards of Crocker National Corporation and Pacific Telephone and Telegraph. Crocker is the fourteenth largest bank in the country. A 1978 U.S. Senate study, "Interlocking Directorates Among the U.S. Corporations," found 530 direct and 12,193 indirect interlocks among 130 of the nation's top corporations. Almost half (63) of the corporations studied were interlocked with Crocker including American Airlines, Northwest Airlines, TWA, Pan American and United Airlines; ABC, CBS and RCA; ARCO, Exxon, Phillips Petroleum, SoCal, Texaco and Shell Oil; Ford, General Motors and Chrysler; BankAmerica, American Express, Bankers Trust, Chase Manhattan, Citicorp, Manufacturer's Hanover, Continental Illinois, Security Pacific and Wells Fargo; Consolidated Edison, Pacific Gas and Electric, SoCal. Edison and Commonwealth Edison; American Electric Power Co., Western Electric and Westinghouse; and Metropolitan Life Insurance, Equitable Life Assurance and New York Life Insurance Company.

Later studies show little substantial change. The 1980 Standard and Poors corporate directory shows that companies tied to Crocker by direct interlocks alone include: Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, the nation's second largest life insurer; Boeing Co., the country's largest producer of commercial aircraft and seventh ranking defense contractor; Boise Cascade, fifth in forest products; Continental Airlines, the nation's tenth largest airline; Levi-Strauss, the leading pantmaker in the country; Bechtel, the nation's largest construction and engineering firm; Standard Oil of California, Chemical Bank, Lever Brothers, Colgate Palmolive, and Del Monte.

Finally, as a member of the Board of Pacific Telephone and Telegraph, Smith sat with directors from Union Oil, the thirty-fifth largest U.S. multinational; Banker's Trust, the eighth largest U.S. bank; International Paper,

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the nation's largest paper producer and second largest forest products firm; Bristol Myers, the third largest beauty products firm in the U.S.; and additional members of the boards of Southern California Edison, Carter Hawley Hale and Crocker National Corporation.

Also on the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph boards is a director of AT&T. And Smith sat with AT&T board members on the boards of PMI (Edward W. Carter) and Crocker National (Peter Haas). These ties to AT&T by virtue of his board membership combined with the fact that Pacific Telephone and Telegraph is an 85% owned subsidiary of AT&T solidly tied him to Ma Bell, the nation's third largest corporation. Through this tie, Smith could "reach out and touch" an enormous number of major corporations. The same 1978 Senate study that described Crocker National's ties to 63 leading corporations used AT&T as a prime example of the dangers of corporate concentration. Finding that AT&T had 31 direct and 625 indirect interlocks with 93 of the nation's top 130 firms, the study described AT&T's connections with just the top 12 of these corporations—as follows:

AT&T was found to have the greatest number of interlocks with each of the other top 12 corporations. It was directly interlocked with Citicorp through AT&T's chairman. Directors of AT&T sat with directors of Citicorp on 12 intermediate boards, accounting for 20 indirect routes of director contact. The huge telecommuni-

tions carrier interlocked with Chase Manhattan on 12 intermediate boards through 22 indirect routes. It directly interlocked with Manufacturers Hanover twice and indirectly interlocked with that company 17 times. It interlocked with J.P. Morgan on 12 boards, through 18 indirect routes. AT&T directly interlocked with Prudential through 1 direct interlock and had 10 indirect interlocks on 6 intermediate boards. Indirect routes with Metropolitan totaled 17, on 9 boards.

The chairman of AT&T was represented on the board of General Motors along with a second AT&T director. The boards of these two large nonfinancial companies indirectly interlocked 13 times. AT&T connected with Exxon through that energy company's chairman, and through eight indirect interlocks. Additional AT&T links were with Texaco (1 direct interlock); Mobil (1 direct and 12 indirect routes); and Ford (9 indirects on 7 boards).

...Thus, the giant private carrier achieved an outstanding potential for control and influence over the policies of the country's largest corporations.

As stated above, Smith's corporate ties have already forced him to recuse himself from Justice's historic anti-trust case against AT&T.

* * *

The problem of the concentration of corporate control in the hands of a privileged few is a major and rapidly growing threat to every level of our deteriorating economy. A 1980 Senate study, *STRUCTURE OF CORPORATE CONCENTRATION* (a followup to the

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A close review of the public record reveals that the companies William French Smith has served as counsel or as director are themselves or are directly interlocked with firms that include the country's:

- 1st and 3rd largest metal manufacturers (Alcoa and Kaiser)
- 1st and 3rd largest commercial aircraft builders (Boeing and Lockheed)
- Top title insurer (TICOR)
- Top producer of wholesale drugs (Foremost McKesson)
- Top pantsmaker (Levi-Strauss)
- Top canner (Del Monte)
- Top banana, pineapple and lettuce grower (Castle and Cooke)
- Top rice grower (Colgate Palmolive)
- 4th ranking oil company (Standard Oil of Southern California)
- 1st and 5th construction and engineering firms (Bechtel and Fluor)

They also include:

- 2 of the top airlines (American and Continental)
- 2 of the top 12 utilities (Southern Cal Edison and Pacific Lighting)
- 2 of the top 14 life insurers (Metropolitan Life and Occidental)
- of the top 14 banks, including the largest (Bank of America, Bankers Trust, Security Pacific, Western Bancorp, Wells Fargo and Crocker National)
- 3 of the top 35 multinationals (Ford, Colgate Palmolive, and Union Oil)
- 2 of the top 10 and 5 of the top 30 defense contractors (Lockheed, Boeing, AT&T, Textron and TRW)
- the 4th largest landholder in each of two states

1978 study referred to above), found 1,200 direct and 33,918 indirect interlocking routes among the nation's top 100 firms. It also identified many links among many competing corporations through third party boards, especially the boards of customers, financial institutions and major suppliers. In a number of cases, according to the study, three or more competitors were represented on a single company board:

For example, the study found five energy giants, Exxon, Mobil, Standard of California, Atlantic Richfield and U.S. Steel, all seated on the board of Caterpillar. Banking companies Citicorp, Chase Manhattan, Chemical New York, Manufacturers Hanover and Continental Illinois, were at the board table of AT&T. Citicorp, Chase Manhattan, Morgan, Chemical New York, Bankers Trust, Continental Illinois and Metropolitan Life were represented on the board of IBM. Citicorp, Chase Manhattan, Morgan, Chemical New York, First National Boston and Prudential were on the board of General Electric.

Though Reagan and his New Right/Robber Baron coalition have been in office only a few months, they have moved with lightning speed to strip us of the pitifully few and seldom used protections we've had against the advance of this corporate concentration. They've abolished the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Anti-Trust to make way for the Subcommittee on Internal Security and Terrorism. Their intent to cripple or abolish the role of the FTC in anti-trust and other pro-competition enforcement is deadly serious. That leaves the Anti-Trust Division of Smith's Justice Department. And the record shows that sending the Smith team—with their trial by recusal strategy—into battle against the modern-day trusts is, as Reagan's old Hollywood colleague Elmer Fudd might describe it, like sending lettuce by rabbit.

TAXATION & BEHAVIOR

Rep. Byron Dorgan

Supply side enthusiasts have resorted to argument by name-calling. Question their oracles, and they label you a "Keynesian." I am not a Keynesian, however, for the same reason I am not a supply sider. Both theories, in my view, suffer from the same defect. They are both overindulgent of the self-importance of tax-policy economists. For all the holy warfare between these two camps, they both inflate the role of tax policy—and hence of the economists that formulate it—on the economic well-being of this country.

During my years as State Tax Commissioner, North Dakota enacted industrial tax incentives in hopes of spurring new business development. We studied the program a few years later and found that, by and large, the companies who had availed themselves of these tax cuts were simply taking advantage of a bonus for doing what they would have done anyway.

Numerous studies in recent years have come to the same conclusion. Tax cuts are simply not the great engines of investment or of behavioral change that their more avid proponents crack them up to be.

Even the most casual observer of our economic history can see that the waters of our economic fortunes run much deeper than the particular tax policy in favor at any particular time. Cyclical depression was common throughout the nineteenth century, for example, despite the absence of federal income

taxes. At the time of the great depression, the federal income tax rates were no higher than 20 percent, even for the very richest, and capital gains rates peaked at a less-than crushing 12½ percent.

This is not to say that taxes have no effect. It is simply to say that the economic world is broad and wide, and tax policy simply cannot carry the policy load that recent administrations, especially the present one, have tried to lay on it.

It is absolutely astonishing to hear the case the Administration makes for its program. They aren't talking simply about letting people keep a little more of their own money. Rather, they are talking about the economic and social changes its tax policy will bring. The President told us tax policy wasn't supposed to do that.

It's even stranger to hear these "laissez-faire" economists utter with such enthusiasm the parlance of Pavlovian psychology—"stimulus", "incentive", etc.—when promoting their own favored tax policies.

I think it's time to come off it. The behavior modification school of tax policy hasn't made our economy any better. Instead, it has turned our tax code into one of the intellectual and bureaucratic wonders of the modern world, has created a massive private works program for lawyers and accountants, and has distorted economic behavior beyond the wildest ambitions of the most determined statist.



"MY FATHER PASSED IT ON TO ME, SO I GUESS I'LL HAVE TO PASS IT ON TO YOU AND YOU'LL HAVE TO PASS IT ON TO YOUR KIDS, WHO WILL PASS IT ON TO THEIR KIDS, WHO WILL ..."

THE MEDIA

Robert Alperin

VACANCIES: Three months into the Reagan administration many sub-cabinet posts were unfilled. The *New York Times* printed an organizational chart showing 18 top Energy Department posts. Only the secretary's slot was filled. Only three nominees had been announced. Other departments had similar, if not so extreme, situations.

Among the unfilled posts was that of presidential science adviser. The *Boston Globe* reported that, after intensive lobbying by the scientific community, the White House reversed itself and agreed to have a science adviser. Charles Hitch, University of California president during Reagan's governorship, suggested that the science post and many other were kept vacant to prevent informed executive branch resistance to the Stockman budget proposals. An overall survey of the scope of the non-appointment problem and its effects on operations and planning is overdue.

IDEOLOGY AND RESEARCH: The *Times* reported a University of Chicago study showing that proposed cuts in federal programs would leave families of the working poor little better off than if they were on welfare. The Office of Management and Budget commented that it had no quarrel with the study's methods or statistical findings, but could not compare the results with its own. OMB had done no state-by-state survey (The Chicago study covered ten states). Would research matter, anyway? David Stockman on "Issues and Answers" dismissed the Chicago findings with the remark that "anomalous" cases can always be found.

The *Washington Post*, in its story, failed to note the lack of any comparable OMB study and the fact that the Chicago research examined the cumulative effect of cuts in several programs, not any single benefit reduction. The *Post* also failed to report Stockman's reaction and his strong statement that there were no "basic rights to legal services or any other kinds of services." The *Star* (via *New York Times*) had it all.

The President, among others, cites the thick Sunday job sections as evidence jobs are there if people want to work. Many such ads appeal to the already employed with particularly needed skills. The story of 5,000 people waiting in subfreezing weather for 80-90 jobs in a Toledo battery factory rated only a few inches in the *Star* and no attention in the *Post* or *Times*.

The administration talks of giving highest priority to fighting international terrorism and claims the Soviet Union is behind it all. Then the *Times* publicized a CIA study saying there are insufficient evidence to substantiate claims about the Soviet role. The agency was asked to "review" its conclusions. The *Post* played an AP dispatch on the CIA report on A22, The *Star* went front page with the *Times'* story. It's a tribute to the CIA analysts' integrity that they dared reach a conclusion so contrary to administration views.

In an important but later-forgotten story on El Salvador, the *Post* told of high US officials saying privately that it was hard to gather needed information. They didn't know how strong the rebel threat was or how able the government was to cope with it. Publicly, however, they spoke in absolutes, deeply involving American prestige.

THREE'S COMPANY BUT FIFTY-ONE'S A... When fifty-one African states protested President Reagan's African policy, the *Star* put it on the front page. The *Post* managed 2 1/2" inside — mostly about a related story. The *Times* initially ignored the African statement, then rallied with a brief note that the fifty-one had voiced their concerns to UN Secretary General Waldheim.

Five days before, the *Post* front page announced "African Nations Begin Criticizing

Reagan Policies." Only three nations were mentioned: Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Sierra Leone. The next day the *Post* gave considerable space to an interview with Nigerian President Shehu Shagari, who warned about US policies in South Africa and Angola. Both stories were well done.

But why so little attention to the fifty-one? It would have been consistent with newspaper philosophy if a *Post* editor had said, "We've done two African protest stories already, so pare this wire service report down to a couple of inches." If the previous stories had not appeared, I suspect more of the wire service account would have been printed. And, of course, if the paper had a UN correspondent the story also would have received bigger play.

CULTURAL REVOLUTION?: "Zimbabwe Purges Art From the Past" roared a *Post* headline. The purge? After a year of independence, they're getting around to removing from the walls of Parliament art works portraying the leaders of the erstwhile white minority regime. Portraits of British monarchs from George V to Queen Elizabeth II remain in place.

"SOUTH LEBANON": This *Post* series provided excellent maps detailing who controls what and revealing the roads Israel has built in Lebanon. The article also showed the extent to which Haddad's Christian militia relies on Israel from pay, uniforms, weapons and vehicles.

Noting that the Israelis don't pretend to limit their attacks to purely military targets, the authors speculated that the Israelis sought to drive out Lebanese civilians or turn them against the PLO, an hypothesis that ignores the many Palestinian civilians living in attacked areas. Their physical presence anywhere near their homeland, as well as their morale, are also targets.

The series failed to indicate how much civilian life has been disrupted or the extent of casualties. (The 1978 Israeli invasion left 200,000 Lebanese and 65,000 Palestinians homeless.) Nor did the series point out the use of US weapons in violation of the agreement under which they were obtained, or the benefits to the Israeli economy. (South Lebanon is a market earning over \$1 million a year in hard currency and over twice that in Israeli money.) Further, the articles failed to make clear that the five Israeli "encroachments" that Lebanon has protested, involve fencing, mine fields and bulldozing within Lebanon's borders.

REPORTING AHEAD OF THE TIMES: The *Post* has done excellent reporting on the growing European opposition to nuclear weapons — including relating this opposition to the politics of the various countries.

FORCED EDUCATORS?: The *Post* interviewed the all-metropolitan basketball stars of a decade ago and provided a cautionary tale of broken dreams and never-completed college educations. Many schools care not if their players finish their education, but that would change if Indiana coach Bobby Knight's plan were adopted.

Interviewed by the *Star*, he suggested that, if a player failed to graduate, the scholarship slot would be vacant for, say, two years.

NO HARM, NO NEWS: Anti-Jewish acts or manifestations of Nazism, particularly in West Germany, invariably bring media attention. But when the Federal Republic carried out of the largest series of anti-Nazi raids in its history, the *Times* and the *Star* gave it minor coverage. Readers might have been interested in finding out why the German government acted now, how serious was the threat, and what reaction Jewish leaders had. The *Post*? It found a bus crash in Morelia, Mexico, a more significant item.

SINO-SOVIET AGREEMENT: Stories of Chinese-Soviet conflict abound, but reports of their Amur River navigation agreement were brief (*Times* and *Post*) or non-existent (*Star*).

CHURCH-COMMUNIST DUAL: The first church-state accord in Communist Poland's history was ignored by the *Times* and the *Star*. The *Post* gave it 3".

"THE NEW POLAND": Michael Dobbs's *Post* series produced noteworthy interviews with rank-and-file workers and party members, a departure from the foreign correspondent's habit of sticking to official sources. Dobbs, however, gave scant attention to the church's

role or to the views and stances of those who want to upset Party-Solidarity accords, such as dissidents who want more change faster and party members fearful of change.

REPORTING EL SALVADOR: In a radio speech, Salvadorean President Duarte announced that the second phase of land reform would have to wait five or ten years. This phase would have nationalized 30,000 farms, including most of the valuable coffee areas. The *Star* ran it on page 8. The UPI dispatch gave the lead paragraphs to the day's death toll (eight soldiers, twelve civilians). The *Times* and the *Post* missed the story. The latter did run a Reuters story that noted Duarte's speech had detailed the country's history of violence, but the *Post* cut the story before the details appeared.

Duarte blamed the delay in the land reform on a lack of funds to pay the landowners and on continuing problems with the first phase under which large estates were nationalized. Did Duarte seek US aid to finance the plan? Did the US ask him to stop the reform? A *Los Angeles Times* article reported that during Duarte's visit to Washington, key Reagan advisers tried to persuade him to end economic reform — including the land program.

The media have shown little interest in reporting land reform or the killing of its local administrators — a right-wing tactic. An April 5 *Post* article was a welcomed exception.

The media rely on present or past US officials as news sources. They ignore scholars and organizations knowledgeable about El Salvador and pay almost as little attention to Salvadorean officials as they do the rebels. (An exception was a series by *San Diego Union* reporter Alex Drehsler, who spent time with the guerrillas.)

For example, Secretary of State Haig's widely-reported remark about a Soviet "hit list" of Central American nations was branded "speculative" and the product of an "incredible imagination" by Salvadorean officials, who fear getting caught in superpower rivalry. The *Star* ran the story but the *Post* and the *Times* didn't.

None of these papers reported Duarte's warning that an increased US military presence in Latin America could lead to another Vietnam, although they have reported members of Congress saying the same thing.

Similarly, the widely-publicized State Department "White Paper" was not followed by any mass media questioning of its contents. Pacific News Service reporter John Dinges wrote that the documents gave evidence that far fewer weapons reached El Salvador than State had claimed [see April Gazette].

The Associated Press also questioned President Reagan's claim that the rebels had boasted of killing 6000 people last year. The AP didn't think the State Department supplied documents proved the case. And the AP went further; it noted the downplaying of right wing violence in the White Paper and listed groups that blame the government and right wing for most of the violence. Among these were El Salvador's Catholic Archdiocese, Amnesty International, the UN Human Rights Commission and the American Institute for Free Labor Development (an affiliate of the AFL-CIO). Since many papers tend to accept the US government's view that right and left wing violence have been comparable, the AP story was a chance for readers to get some new information. The *Baltimore Sun*, unlike the *Post*, *Star*, and *Times*, ran it.

SCIENCE-GOVERNMENT CONFLICT?: Apparently the traditional bias that science and medicine have against disease is in conflict with new government policy. The new head of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, Thorne Auchter, ordered 50,000 government booklets destroyed because a cover photo was too favorable to brown lung victims. Auchter came to OSHA determined to overcome "adversarial approaches to safety and health." Government booklets can take stands, apparently, but not on either side.



TOPICS

Sam Smith

Quiet death

Before turning to more entertaining matters let us pause briefly in memory of an old friend: the American homeowner. The deceased received a barely decent obituary — being crowded out by the fiscal gyrations of the Reagan administration. The scant attention paid to the introduction of variable rate mortgages reveals once again what a lousy nose for news the press has. Without denigrating the importance of the social and economic disaster which which the gypsies in the White House present us, the change in how one buys a house and how much it costs surely deserves equal time.

The development, of course, lacked the political drama and easy coverage that more conventional Washington stories provide. It was announced, alas, by one of the dullest institutions in the capital, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board. To a press corps that considers covering a regulatory agency as appealing as the Butte zoning commission beat, it is small wonder that it discounted the importance of the mortgage story.

Yet, as a result, millions of Americans will be paying sums that will make Reagan's tax cut look like a subway token. And they'll be paying this money long after Reagan, Stockman and Meese are gone and, one trusts, forgotten.

For starters, the FHLLB decision creates windfall opportunities for savings institutions, puts "home-buyers" in perpetual hock to these institutions, will cause numerous hardships and defaults at times frequent and uncertain, and will give a significant boost to inflation. Ironically, in those cities with rent control, tenants may have more protection against arbitrary changes in housing costs than will a "home owner" with an S&L loan. Without denying his capability for mischief, nothing Ronald Reagan has done to date can match the perversity of this move.

Dems on the run

The silence of the media about the change in the cost and control of housing has been fully matched by the silence of the Democratic Party. One wonders, in fact, whether this institution still exists. There has been little evidence of it during the recent pseudo-struggle over the budget. When you cut through all the alleged argument and controversy, you find that what was up for grabs — between the White House and Democratic alternatives — was about 3% of the budget. The House Democratic leadership was willing to go along with about 80% of Reagan's domestic cuts. Some struggle.

When the Congressional Black Caucus presented its budget — a proposal that just a couple of years ago would have seem stodgily mainstream Democratic — only 69 members of the House voted for it. David Obey then presented another alternative budget, which garnered all of 119 votes.

To put this sorry business in further perspective, the military budget occupied 22.6% of all federal spending in 1978. In a spirit of bipartisan obeisance to defense contractors, this is expected to rise to 32.4% by 1984. It will hardly buy us any further assurances of peace, but it certainly can knock the bottom out of the school lunch market.

With hardly anyone on the Hill acting like a Democrat anymore and with the Pentagon riding high in the saddle, I see little that can be done short of turning day care centers, legal service agencies and the national endowments into para-military operations, thus making them exempt from economic restraints. The NRA, I am sure, would be glad to help. They fully understand this business.

Capitalists of violence

Now that we have expelled the Libyans for "terrorism," it would be nice to see this act followed by an impoundment of all funds used by the CIA for similar purposes — thus further reducing fear in the world and setting us forthrightly upon the road to economic recovery. Nice but not likely. For terrorism is, after all, merely the capitalism of violence. Most governments long ago decided to socialize the right to cause human misery and destruction and even advocates of individual initiative such as our president can't stand the thought of the private sector getting into the act. The problem is that most free enterprise terrorism is a reaction to state-controlled terrorism and the suppression of the former usually involves an expansion of the latter, as illustrated by the pattern in Northern Ireland. For most of us, the destination of the bullet is more important than its origin.

Prize rhubarb

My impression is that the public is not anywhere near as fascinated with the personal problems of the media as some of my colleagues think, but there are too many delicious ironies in the Janet Cooke affair to let it pass completely unnoticed. A few sidebars:

- The Post, which has apologized so profusely for Ms. Cooke's vivid imagination, has itself been engaged in a far more significant fabrication, namely trying to recreate its aura of invincibility. Unlike the aberration of the Jimmy episode, the fiction that one can and should trust the Post is a permanent part of journalistic mythology.

The Post's post-Pulitzer self-examination was certainly excessive if the only problem was that an employee had deceived it. Surely, that has happened before and been handled with more dispatch and discretion. But the real problem was the same one faced by the nuclear industry at Three Mile Island — Cooke raised the terrible spectre that things could go wrong, even at the Washington Post. The problem was not merely that Jimmy's world would be seen as false, but that the Post's world would as well.

And so the Post set about recreating the illusion that newspapers — particularly the Post, don't mislead you, an illusion considerably more cynical than Ms. Cooke's childlike little fiction. There were, of course, the gargantuan exertions of the ombudsman, Bill Green. Green's last contribution to American journalism had been to ask, following the Iranian crisis, whether the press had been "perverted into a weapon aimed directly at the heart of American nationalism and self-esteem?" In this case, Green presented no

danger to the Post's self-esteem. His effort seemed derivative of (although far less punchy) the old Metro public relations campaign during its more harrassed days, "Sure, Metro has problems."

The Post, of course, has been somewhat skeptical of large institutions — such as the White House and Fortune 500 corporations, to investigate themselves. But in this case we found no call for an outside special prosecutor. The Post inquiry, had it been emulated, say, by a large oil company investigating its own overcharges or a wayward federal department checking out its own scandal, would have been hooted out of the 15th Street newsroom.

But the Post really feels that it is different from the rest of us. After all, this is no ordinary collection of mortals, subject to avarice, pride, ambition, short-cuts and lust in their hearts. Hear now the comfortable words of Post columnist Judy Mann:

"This business and what it stands for is, to many of us, about as close as we come to having a religion. **** We are bound together by a common love of truth and the unspoken belief that truth will keep us free."

I have, in the course of my meanderings through life, run across a surprising number of people not in journalism who were at least equally bound by such a love. They, unfortunately, don't have a column in which to express their faith. Personally, I trust reporters, but like the farmer said, "I get cash for my cotton."

- Janet Cooke's fabrication was based on snippets of reality. In composite form it became fiction. This is just the reverse of what typically happens in a newspaper. Much of the meat of political reporting, at least, involves turning fiction into reality. The press, with its cloddish faith in official sources, constantly serves as a middle man for prevarication. Only in extreme cases does this seem to bother it. On the whole it prefers an official lie to an anonymous truth. This has always seemed to me a rather distorted view of objectivity and provides little service to the reader. I take the naive view that news is what is going on — not what some official says is going on. If the press passes on what is clearly a mistatement of conditions, simply because the source has power, it is a party to that lie.

The typical press response, though, is that it is not the reporter's job to weigh the truth or falsity of each statement, but to make sure that all sides are adequately presented. This is a nice theory, but to test it in practice, simply check today's Post for the amount of space granted official and non-official sources and the size of the headlines given to each. One of the reasons the truth hasn't made us free yet is because it has been overset.

There is an alternative approach to the traditional pseudo-objectivity of a newspaper,



"EXCUSE ME, BEN, BUT A COUPLE OF WELFARE WORKERS ARE HERE — SAY THEY'RE INVESTIGATING JOURNALISM FRAUD..."

which is for the paper itself to take responsibility for telling its readers as much of the truth as it can uncover, regardless of the source. The credibility for such a paper comes from having given an accurate description of current events rather than merely recounting the often tangential and misleading social and political drama that surrounds these events. Ms. Cooke's story could have been made perfectly suitable for publication if its composite nature had been identified at the beginning. Making the fiction of government agencies, politicians, lobbying groups and corporations suitable for publication is far more difficult task and one most papers chose to ignore.

• The Post's difficulties in dealing with this affair seem closely tied to its extraordinarily inflated self-image. A more modest institution would have taken Janet Cooke in its stride. But like the FBI after Watergate, the Post had further to fall because it had built its wall of self-regard too high. In retrospect, one tip-off that the paper's values were in the wrong place should have been Ben Bradlee being impressed by Janet Cooke's alleged magna from Vassar. It wasn't too long ago that any managing editor worth his salt would have considered that a handicap rather than a virtue.

• I have been interested to discover many people are unaware that journalism prizes are not manna from heaven, but are self-instigated and function as a rather effective promotion gimmick for the industry. I used to subscribe to Editor & Publisher and always looked forward to the annual issue that would be chock-full of awards that enterprising newspapers could win, almost down to one from the Fidget Manufacturers Trade Association for outstanding coverage of fidgets in American society. The Pulitzer prize is simply the granddaddy of these promotional awards. If the public knew a little better how and why these awards originate they might be less surprised to learn that they can be fixed. Perhaps, after this business, some editors might wish to adopt the attitude of the editor of the French satirical magazine Le Canard who upon seeing one of his staffers sporting a rosette of the Legion D'Honor, fired the man. The fellow protested that he had not sought the award; it had simply been given him. Said the editor, "You should have done nothing to deserve it."

• To add a final touch to this wonderful rhubarb, we find that in some quarters this is not a journalistic story at all, but a racial one. The Wall Street Journal got things off to a rip-roaring start by writing "What happened at the Post raises some broader and troublesome issues as well—questions that can't be answered easily or at all. To what extent do the pressures facing big city papers to recruit and promote promising minorities cloud the initial hiring procedures — as well as the decisions as to which of their stories should be published?"

In the Post, Dorothy Gilliam counter-parried by stating that Janet Cooke just "happens to be black," a refreshing change from her normal ethnocentric view of the world. This was followed by Roger Wilkins (who was on the Pulitzer committee) writing, "The greatest injury Miss Cooke has done with her fabrication is not to the Pulitzer prize, however, or even to the Washington Post. It is to blacks in newsrooms all over the country. The essence of journalism is to tell the clearest truths we can see to our readers. But we blacks are distrusted by many white editors who doubt our perceptions or judgement and our ability to be fair and accurate.

"We struggle against this every day and Janet Cooke and the editors who failed their readers made our burden of proof much heavier."

The burden might have been lighter, however, had Wilkins or Gilliam (who spoke of "a certain coded message that is creeping into the Cooke accounts that implies that blacks are brought into journalism unchecked") noted, for example, that one of the members of the feature-writing jury (which had its choice overruled in favor of the Cooke story by the Pulitzer board) was Robert Maynard, editor of the Oakland Tribune, black and a

former reporter for the Post. Maynard was described by the Wall Street Journal as "particularly angry" and quoted him as saying that "There were two journalists sitting [on the feature-writing jury] who had had long exposure to the controversy surrounding that story. One or probably both of us would have said, 'There are so many questions about whether this child exists,' and we would have resisted recommending it for the Pulitzer." Maynard also criticized the Post for its "preoccupation with crime and deviance" among ghetto residents as contributing to the failure to ask questions.

Wilkins or Gilliam might have pointed out that one of the verifiably good things that has happened at the Post of late is its influx of good black reporters. Milton Coleman (the DC editor who has taken something of beating for trusting Cooke too much), Eugene Robinson, Cortland Milloy and others, have helped to introduce, finally, the Post to the community it supposedly serves and they have done so with skill and sensitivity. Or that it was Milloy who, in fact, raised serious questions about the veracity of the Cooke piece several days after it appeared. If Coleman made a bad judgement call on this one story, it has been more than compensated by what he and his black colleagues have done to prevent the sort of bad judgement calls the Post used to make with great regularity. Both the "how tough it is" school of black writing and the "how troublesome it is" school of white writing have obscured the basic ethnic fact of the case, namely that Cooke was not only an aberration among Post reporters, she was an aberration among black Post reporters and that neither the Post management nor its black staff has any apologies to make in this regard.

• One of the troubles with this country and this town is that everyone is afraid to make a mistake. We keep fabricating illusory worlds in which things never go wrong and if they do our fail-safe systems will take care of them. We have to make the world safe for mistakes again. So someone won't be afraid to hire Janet Cooke and get her started again. So nobody feels they have to shaft Bob Woodward or Milton Coleman as sacrifices to our false god of perfectibility. So the Post can deal with a problem like this without such agony.

• Finally, I got to thinking how many Janet Cookes — white, black, male, female, I've met in this town — always trying to make everything seem better than it is. Maybe the Post would like to assign someone to find out what it is that makes Washington like that. Who knows, they might even win a Pulitzer.

Funny news

The Post would not have gotten so hopelessly ensnared in the Cooke affair, perhaps, had it been able to take itself less seriously. But this has never been a strong point at the Post. The Post, for example, couldn't even see the humor involved in suggesting that one of the those great cheap shots of journalism — a sob story about a kid — should be presented to the Pulitzer committee as the prime example of the paper's contribution to the local community for the year. There's nothing wrong with sob stories, but they are to journalism as the prat-fall is to the comic, an easy way to get attention or a laugh. Presumably there were more significant matters affecting the metropolitan area than the drug habits of a young child — even if he had existed.

Even when the Post is trying to be funny it doesn't do it very well. It has some funny writers, but they are well contained in the Style section. As for the rest of the paper, the approach to humor is usually a mite heavy-handed, as grimly illustrated in this dispatch from Ed Bruske earlier this month;

WILLIAMSBURG, May 2 -- So much for pomp. Prince Charles, heir to the British crown, is funny. Really funny.

He looked a bit cramped at first, what with all the formality of a regal convocation. But the Prince of Wales, dressed in cap and gown, flanked by Virginia Gov. John N. Dalton, looked tradition straight in the eye, turned on his royal charm and brought

down the house at the College of William and Mary today.

"I was thinking of visiting here last year," he told dignitaries and assorted stufed shirts assembled to see him made a permanent fellow of the school, the only US college that still operates under its orginal royal charter. "But I thought I would wait until 1981, the 200 anniversary of the Battle of Yorktown. I thought **** you would like to have a genuine redcoat in your midst."

The sad part about this is that Prince Charles apparently does have a good sense of humor but his reputation is hardly enhanced by such an ponderous build-up to a bad one-liner.

This is, unfortunately, a rather typical example of humor in the news section. Reporters seem constitutionally incapable of simply quoting a line and letting the reader decide whether it is funny. Further, of course, many of our official humorists don't even write their own stuff. Still the press happily credits them with being great wits. Ghostwriters are acceptable; ghost addicts aren't. The National News Council might someday find time to tell us why.

Get 'em in the teeth

The avuncular character our president has chosen to play this season barely conceals the considerable hate and prejudice within his constituency. We should all pray that Reagan's economic plans work out for, if not, the White House will have to turn to other business to keep us interested, and finding people to blame will probably top the list. So it may be well to remember, when Ronnie's eyes twinkle on TV and he makes a gentle jest about abortion or the death penalty, where his support comes from. For example, Salley McKenna — a George Mason University freshman. Speaking of George McGovern who had appeared on campus, McKenna told the Post:

"He's nothing but a liberal-commie-atheistic-pinko-faggot. He's got nerve to come here and say the things he did. The Lord Jesus will make him pay for this. I hope his dentures fall out."

Such are the people our president has chosen to serve.

Today the U.S. is incarcerating a higher percentage of its citizens than any other country in the world save South Africa and the Soviet Union. We operate some 4,700 penal institutions at an annual cost of over \$4 billion a year. One out of every 24 black men between the ages of 20 and 34 is in prison, increasing the total in the last ten years by 68 percent—and doubling the average prison term since 1965. Construction of another 140 prison facilities at a cost of over \$5 billion is planned by 1986, projecting us ahead of the Soviet Union and South Africa.

The results? A study recently completed for the New York State legislature indicates that if prison expenditures are further increased by 274 percent, crime is likely to fall by only 10 percent. Thus, nothing short of turning this country into a virtual garrison state with a prison capacity of well over a million persons would even begin to affect crime.

Will harsher laws reduce crime? Almost every study of the problem indicates that the severity of the criminal law has little to do with deterring lawlessness. Those committing anonymous crimes in the street often act out of an utter irrationality induced by overwhelming personal desperation, drugs or alcohol.

In 1971, New York State passed the most severe drug law ever enacted in the hope of reducing drug traffic and criminality. Yet New York City had its worst crime statistics in history for the first six months of 1980, and topped the nation in its robbery rate. The severity of the drug law had no demonstrable impact on drug usage, drug trafficking or related crime.

—Leonard Weinglass

INNOCENT BYSTANDER

Arthur Hoppe

Life Is the Snits

The National Waititis Foundation is now issuing small aluminum tags which identify the ever-growing number of sufferers of this increasingly common affliction.

The history of the disease goes back to the summer of 1977. The noted neurologist Dr. Homer T. Pettibone was conducting a routine physical examination of a patient named Herbert Dewby.

He was somewhat surprised to find that Dewby, a normally healthy young male, had high blood pressure, a rapid pulse, a flushed complexion and an unusual testiness.

"How long have you been experiencing these symptoms, Mr. Dewby?" Pettibone inquired.

"About an hour and a half," muttered Dewby through clenched teeth.

"Ahah!" said Pettibone. "Then it will be easy to trace your movements. Where have you been during that hour and a half?"

"In your (expletive deleted) waiting room!" shouted Dewby, struggling furiously into his pants and storming out the door.

Discovering a new disease is a feather in any physician's cap. His suspicions aroused, Dr. Pettibone applied for and received a federal grant for extensive research on laboratory rats.

In an ingenious experiment, the medical sleuth trained a dozen rats to push little carts, each filled with nine items, through a tiny mockup of a supermarket check-out counter.

The rats were forced to wait in line with their carts anywhere from five to 27 minutes. And, sure enough, Pettibone found a direct correlation between the total length of time the rats waited in line and the incidence of peptic ulcers and chewed tails.

As further proof of his theory, Pettibone introduced a control group of six more rats, each also having nine items in its cart. This group, however, was allowed to pass through a clearly marked "Express Line" with no wait whatsoever. All six were immediately killed and eaten by their fellows.

Pettibone named the newly-discovered disease "waititis" or, in laymen's terms, "the snits." Advancing from laboratory rats to humans, he learned the affliction was amazingly prevalent in western civilization. "The French, for example," he says, "are totally incapable of standing in any line whatsoever."

In this country, he says, waititis is endemic at post offices, virulent at rock concerts and particularly acute at the ends of lines at theaters, concert halls, stadiums and airport terminals where the afflicted is unsure his wait will be rewarded with a seat.

To help victims, Pettibone founded the National Waititis Foundation. While the foundation has yet to achieve a cure, it is issuing, in return for \$100 donation, the aforementioned tags which read:

"I am a chronic lightwait. In the event I display symptoms of an attack of waititis, such as foot-tapping, uncontrolled fidgeting, neck craning, incoherent muttering, cool heels and a redness about the ears, please employ emergency procedures and move me to the head of the line."

"The demand for the tags has been surprising," says Pettibone. "And it's no wonder, seeing that waititis can lead to neuroses, stress-provoked disabilities and even sudden death."

In this last respect, he cites the case of

Huntley Tureen, one of the first sufferers to wear the tag about his neck. On May 22, 1980, Tureen stepped to the head of the line at the opening of "The Empire Strikes Back" and smilingly displayed his tag to the man behind him who promptly strangled him with the tag's cord.

The suspect, identified as Hartley Beburn, showed the police his own tag which read: "I am a victim of nextitis. If my nextness is in any way tampered with, I fly into a manic rage and am not responsible for my actions." He was charged with justifiable homicide and released.

Pettibone is now seeking a grant to determine whether nextitis is a more prevalent malady than waititis. He suspects, unfortunately, that it is.

Mahorogun, an Epic

"Roots," "Holocaust," "Shogun" and "Masada" were so exciting that my wife, Glynda, and I can hardly wait for the new, new, tee-vee mini-series now in production. It's called "Mahorogun." And it's got everything.

Mahorogun, which will run six hours nightly for two weeks, is the saga of Kunta Ginseng, who sails to Japan sometime between 100 and 2000 years ago in search of his ancestry.

He is captured by Roman Catholic priests who attempt to force him to learn Latin so he will forget all about his Ginseng roots. Fiercely independent, he refuses to submit. "I will conjugate the verbs," he says bravely, "but I must decline the nouns."

For this statement, he is severely punished (and rightly so). But they cannot break his will, which is written in a secret code, and eventually he escapes with the help of the one good Caucasian Japanese goy in the series.

After innumerable rapes, parboilings, beheadings, befootings and other ignominies, Ginseng falls in love with Kizzie Flavius, a beautiful black geisha. She patiently teaches him Japanese, origami and intermediate Yiddish 1-A.

He becomes fluent in origami and leads a band of origamists in a desperate attack on the powerful Natsi family shogunate, which has cornered the market in Ginseng roots.

Mortally wounded in the bloody battle, Ginseng barely reaches the house of Titus Sushimi, the one good Roman in the series, who is hiding Ginseng's daughter, Chicken Masada, from the Natsis.

Chicken Masada, a real Italian dish, is a 32-year-old virgin. "I vow to go to my grave as such," she says, "so that my story will go down in history as 'The Glorious Holdout of Masada'."

"But you must have children so that some 20th century author can make a fortune searching for Ginseng roots," says her dying father.

This is why Chicken Masada marries Eleazar ben Yule, an Episcopalian zealot. Eleazar leads a little band of other zealots (Baptists, Congregationalists, etc.) up to the top of Mount Fuji, where they open a Christmas tree farm.

But the Natsis will not leave them alone. The Natsis demand that the zealots stop growing Christmas trees and convert to the practice of bonsai.

"Never!" cries Eleazar. "We will die before we cut off our roots!"

The Natsis lay seige to the Christmas tree

farm for seven years. At last, the zealots are betrayed by the one bad Jewish Japanese Black Caucasian Roman in the series.

The happy ending comes when they all fall on their pruning shears rather than surrender. This is a happy ending because after that Glynda and I will be able to shout something at each other besides: "It's on!"

(Copyright Chronicle Publishing Co. 1981)



CAPITAL GAME?

According to an Associated Press dispatch, a new game has been created called "Capital Punishment." The object of the game is to get "criminals" past "liberals" to "the chair."

It is difficult to know how to respond to such an announcement. Perhaps it should not be dignified by a response. But sadness that such a game could be considered a likely profit-maker competes with outrage and disgust that it is being promoted as a fun, leisure time activity.

The implications are frightening. At a time when we are reacting in horror at the senseless acts of a would-be assassin, the game adds yet another element to our society's growing tendency to trivialize violence and death. The tragic consequences of such trivialization are seen daily in the wanton, random acts of violence that plague us.

One need not oppose the death penalty to recognize that it demands serious discussion. There are fundamental issues at stake of how we choose to relate to one another in society, and how—or whether—the government reflects those choices. To reduce that discussion to a parlor game is to teach those who play it, especially the young, that these issues and therefore the whole question of the value of human life do not deserve our profound concern.

ALVIN BRONSTEIN, JOHN BUCKLEY, JOYCE HAMLIN, RANALD HANFT, ESTHER HERST, JOE INGLE, MIKE JENDREZEJCZYK, MICHAEL KROLL, JANET RUTH, MIDGE WILSON
Washington, DC

805 MILLIGRAMS OF KRASSNER RELIEVES TENSION FASTER

I read with great amusement Paul Krassner predicts in your March issue. It is wonderful to lift the stress and tension off one's face — in the middle of an hectic day. Your news is both informative and quite a refreshing chance to catch up on out-of-area and area information.

M.M.
Washington, DC

(Unfortunately, you'll have to return to more conventional forms of tension relief. Paul is taking a break while he toddles around the country hawking his new book, "Tales of Tongue Fu.")

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THE WORLD ALMANAC AND BOOK OF FACTS: 1981 edition includes last fall's election returns, a labor union directory, income per capita by state, and a revised and up-dated World History chronology. Of course, all the other stuff is there as well. \$8.95

ALLEY LIFE IN WASHINGTON: Family, Community, Religion and Folklife in the City, 1850-1970. By James Borchert. Borchert challenges conventional wisdom that the impact of the city led to the breakdown of migrants' social institutions. Borchert shows how Washington's alley dwellers adapted patterns that permitted continuity and survival in an often harsh environment. The male-headed nuclear family composed the fundamental unit in this urban subculture, but extended families, kinship networks, alley communities, and folk and religious traditions continued to provide coherence and to help alley dwellers cope with the rigors of everyday life. Forgoing outside assistance, these self-reliant people adjusted to their limited incomes and tiny quarters by using folk cures, remedies, and food sources, as well as by devising ingenious furniture. These crowded but isolated and homogeneous populations were able to shape close-knit communities, with social hierarchies which administered aid and comfort to the needy, but which also punished transgressors. This book is being sold by the Gazette at 20% off list price. \$14.80.

BLACK POETS OF THE UNITED STATES: From Paul Laurence Dunbar to Langston Hughes. The only full-length study of the major black poets of the US from early slavery times to Langston Hughes is now available in English. First published in France in 1963, the book is, in the words of Robert Bone, "a seminal work not likely soon to be replaced as the standard treatment in its field." Langston Hughes called it "a monumental work." After analyzing the impact of slavery on the black psyche and on the patterns of religious feeling, author Jean Wagner discusses the evolution of black lyrical expression to the end of the 19th century. He then focuses on Dunbar and his contemporaries, emphasizing their struggle with stereotypes stemming from minstrelsy, popular song and southern white writing. The heart of the book examines the major figures of the Negro Renaissance: Claude McKay, Jean Toomer, Countee Cullen, James Weldon Johnson, Langston Hughes and Sterling Brown. \$5.50.

KING: A BIOGRAPHY: This book, by David Lewis, updates Lewis's notable assessment of Martin Luther King, Jr., a book acclaimed by leading historians and critics when it appeared shortly after King's death. Now a decade later, this edition includes new information and speculations on FBI harassment of King, the Senate findings of intelligence operations and law abuse, and the sinister implications of various conspiracy theories surrounding King's tragic death. \$5.95

RAPPIN' AND STYLIN' OUT: Communication in Urban Black America: "This well-organized collection of articles traces the African heritage in nonverbal communication, speaker-audience response, music and poetry." — Library Journal. \$5.95

THE DEATH AND LIFE OF MALCOLM X: By Peter Goldman. For this second edition of a major work on one of the most important black leaders of this century, the author, a senior editor of Newsweek, has added a substantial epilogue which argues convincingly that three of the five accomplices in Malcolm X's assassination in 1965 are still free, while a fourth is serving a short sentence for an unrelated offense. Meanwhile, despite the efforts of William Kunstler and others, two men who are probably innocent remain in prison "wasted like pawns sacrificed in somebody else's wild chess game," as one of them puts it. \$7.95

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THE HOLISTIC HEALTH HANDBOOK: A guide to holistic health in its many forms. Compiled by the Berkeley Holistic Health Center. ~~\$9.95~~ ~~\$6~~

COOKING UNDER PRESSURE: An excellent guide to pressure-cooking. ~~\$3.00~~ ~~\$1~~

100 FAVORITE FOLK TALES: "If you buy only one fairy tale book a year, buy this." — New York Times. ~~\$5.95~~ ~~\$3.00~~

THE BACKGAMMON BOOK: Introduction and strategy. ~~\$2.50~~ ~~\$1~~

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MALCOLM X — As told to Alex Haley. ~~\$1.95~~ ~~\$1~~

WOK COOKERY: A very good guide with recipes. ~~\$4.95~~ ~~\$3.50~~

THE SOLAR HOME BOOK: The first book to deal honestly with the drawbacks and blessings of home solar heating and cooling. Simple yet complete, with a wealth of photos, drawings and diagrams. ~~\$7.50~~ ~~\$4~~

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EVERY ROOM A GARDEN: How to decorate your home with plants. Where to put them, how to care for them, how to light them, what to do when things go wrong. Over 300 illustrations. ~~\$6.95~~ ~~\$4~~

BOYSCOUT FIELDBOOK: This is a handy book for anyone taking to the outdoors. More than 1200 wilderness skills and activities discussed. ~~\$4.95~~ ~~\$3.50~~ ~~\$2.50~~

VEGETARIAN EPICURE: ~~\$4.95~~ ~~\$3.50~~

THE COMPLETE BOOK OF ROLLER SKATING: Lessons, equipment, competition and how to dance on skates. ~~\$6.75~~ NOW ~~\$5.50~~

THE PEOPLE'S SILKSCREEN BOOK: A simple, comprehensive, step-by-step guide to silk screening. Learn to build the equipment, prepare images and print on paper, T-shirts. Illustrations and bibliography. ~~\$1.95~~ NOW ~~\$1.50~~

FOOD CO-OPS FOR SMALL GROUPS: A handbook for those who belong or would like to start food co-ops. ~~\$4.95~~ NOW ~~\$2~~ ~~\$1.00~~

JUMP ROPE!: Rope lore, jumping for your health, all the rope games, rope rhymes and much more in this excellent book. ~~\$3.95~~ ~~\$2.50~~

JOY COOKING: Beloved US cookbook with 4300 recipes. ~~\$7.95~~ ~~\$5.00~~ ~~\$2.50~~

NEEDLEPOINT FROM AMERICA'S GREAT QUILT DESIGNS: Over fifty classic patterns to needlepoint each presented with full color and black and white photographs and large stitch by stitch diagrams. ~~\$5.95~~ ~~\$4.00~~ ~~\$3.00~~

THE TOILET BOOK: Practical advice on repairing a toilet written in clear, earthy language. ~~\$3.00~~ NOW ~~\$2~~ ~~\$1~~

HUGH JOHNSON'S POCKET ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WINE: You can slip this plastic-bound handy and detailed guide into your pocket for your next trip to the liquor store. ~~\$4.95~~ ~~\$3.95~~ ~~\$2.50~~

TOYBOOK: Turtle racers, moustaches and more than 50 other good toys to make with children. ~~\$4.95~~ ~~\$2.50~~ ~~\$2.50~~

GUIDE TO THE SEASHELLS OF NORTH AMERICA: Hundreds of shells shown in full color with descriptive text so you can identify those beach treasures. ~~\$4.95~~ NOW ~~\$2.50~~ ~~\$2.50~~



HOW TO GET THE CITY OUT OF ITS FISCAL MESS

John Wilson

The District has an accumulated operating deficit of \$388 million. More than half of this deficit — about \$208 million — has been accumulated since home rule. In addition to having this large amount of bills outstanding from the past, the District is presently grappling with a possible deficit of \$60 million for Fiscal Year 1981 and has a fiscal year budget for 1982 that is underfunded by as much as \$100 million.

The District is indeed in extreme financial difficulty. While everyone now recognizes that we have a problem and while many are searching for innovative solutions, few seem willing to recognize the fundamental truth that the only way a government can get more money is to raise taxes and the only way for a government to need less money is to cut its budget. The District is faced with the same problem facing many families today: the District has bills it needs to pay and the only choices are to get more money or spend less.

The \$388 million accumulated operating deficit can be divided into two categories: (1) those bills that need to be paid off immediately; and (2) those bills that can be put on a "time payment plan." Those bills which the District must pay off immediately total approximately \$184 million.

The mayor has proposed paying off this \$184 million portion of the deficit by issuing long-term municipal bonds. Without getting into all the intricacies of the bond market and the legal requirements of such an issue, the bottom line is that the District will have to pay off these bonds by setting aside about \$20 million a year for 30 years for principal and interest payments on the bonds. Bonds are not free. Their main benefits are that they supply the District with a large amount of money immediately — similar to a loan — and that the interest rate that must be paid on this money is usually less than if the District borrowed from the US Treasury or from a bank.

The problem with this plan is, of course: where does the District get the \$20 million a year for 30 years to set aside? Every penny the District has, and then some, is needed to fund future budgets. The only option then is to raise \$20 million a year for 30 years through increased taxes or cut \$20 million a year from the jobs, services and programs of the District's budget. Either way, the cost is 30 years of higher taxes or decreased services for the citizens of the District.

I believe there is a better approach. Since the options are limited, under any approach, to increasing taxes or cutting the budget, I propose that the District bite the bullet and

increase taxes enough to pay off over five years the \$184 million immediately needed. This would average out to about \$37 million more in taxes each year than the District is currently collecting. At the end of the five years those tax increases would expire and the tax rates would return to their present levels.

This is not an easy solution, but it offers several benefits. This portion of the deficit would be paid in full by the end of the Fiscal Year 1986 instead of by the end of Fiscal Year 2011, as contemplated under the mayor's plan. Citizens could know now what the burden of paying off the deficit will be instead of being hit with new taxes and budget cuts, in the name of the deficit, for the next 30 years.

I believe that we must not mortgage our future or our children's future. If the District is ever to become the safe, healthy, and hopeful place to live that we all want it to be, we must solve our deficit problems now and not carry it on our backs for another 30 years.

Even once the District's accumulated operating deficit is successfully paid off, the District will face the hard task of making sure that present and future budgets are balanced. This is a task we can not duck, for unless future budgets are balanced we will simply be creating new deficits and dooming ourselves to repeat our current financial crisis.

It is my firm belief that future budgets can be balanced. We must begin, however, by realistically estimating our needs and revenues. Budgets can no longer be proposed which omit major necessary items — like pay increases and pensions and welfare and public housing.

Once all the District's expenses have been fairly listed we must set priorities. We must decide whether housing is more important than new office furniture, whether adequate police and fire protection ranks before nighttime tennis courts, whether health centers should be funded before more libraries are built. None of these decisions will be easy and many will be painful, but until the District determines what its priorities are, we will never get a grip on our budget.

When budget priorities are set, then adequate monies must be appropriated to fund these priorities. Only when these items are funded should the District look to divide the remaining funds among other services we wish to provide. In this process some services and programs will have to be sacrificed, but I would rather sacrifice the gravy than the meat.

Any cutback or elimination of services or

John Wilson chairs the city council's committee on finance and revenue.

programs can kept to minimum if the government immediately reexamines its structure and organization. This government needs to be reorganized along service delivery lines. Agencies need to be given clear responsibilities and duplication of effort needs to be eliminated.

Instead of having three to five agencies involved in performing a task or providing a service, one agency should be totally responsible wherever possible. This would eliminate much of the delay in providing needed services, would make it easier for citizens to deal with the government, would focus responsibility and would eliminate the need for so many high-paid executive assistants, deputy directors and special assistants. The District has often been criticized for having too many highly paid personnel. This is one way to concentrate employment in the delivery of services and reduce our top-heavy bureaucracy.

Finally, the District needs to finance its future budgets with existing resources. The District is already one of the highest taxing jurisdictions in the nation. Our tax burden is substantially higher than the tax burden imposed in Maryland and Virginia, in almost every category. Any further tax increases will only serve to drive businesses, jobs, and the middle class from the city, making the District a city of the very rich and the very poor. The District must, therefore, learn to live within its means.

I believe that the District can live, and live well, within its means. I believe that the District can become a healthy, hopeful, vibrant place to live. I believe that the District can balance its budgets and pay its deficit. But I also believe that all these things will happen only if the District faces up to its responsibilities now, instead of pushing them off into the future for others to deal with; if the District establishes priorities instead of spending precious funds willy-nilly on what ever sounds good that day; if the District plans realistic budgets instead of budgets based on wishful thinking; and, if the District reorganizes itself along lines designed to provide the most and best services to her citizens at the least cost, instead of along lines designed to provide high-paying, nice-sounding jobs to the most people possible. Most of all, I believe that the District needs the input, direction and full participation of all citizens in making these vital decisions and for citizens to make their views known to city officials.



IMPORTANT POPULATION SHIFTS WITHIN THE CITY

WHILE the city lost 16% of its population over the past decade, not all parts of the city lost population and some communities declined at a faster rate than the citywide average. The map at right illustrates these significant internal changes. Here is what happened in the various lettered areas:

POPULATION GROWTH

A: East of Georgia Ave. and north of Van Buren: A 200 or 3% population increase.

B: The east side of the Conn. Ave. corridor from Woodley Road to Broad Branch Road: An increase of 2800 or 31%.

C: Glover Park and Mass Heights along the Wisconsin Ave. corridor: An increase of 600 or 7%.

D: West of 16th Street between Piney Branch and Park Rd. An increase of 200 or 4%.

E: Upper Northeast south of the Soldier's Home west of the B&O RR and north of Florida Ave. An increase of 800 or 7%.

F: South of the city line between New York Avenue and the B&O RR: Thanks in part to the construction at Fort Lincoln, the population here went up 1100 or 56%.

G: Between Capitol Hill proper and the Anacostia River: An increase of 600 or 38%.

H: The urban renewal area west of Union Station: An increase of 700 or ten percent.

I: Southwest between 4th and 7th Sts. An increase of 1100 or 69%.

J: Bolling AFB tract: An increase of 1800 or 35%

K: West of the city line between 13th Street and Wheeler Road: An increase of 46 or 1%.

L: East of St. Elizabeth's between Suitland Parkway and Alabama Ave. An increase of 1900 or 45%.

M: West of the city line and south of Naylor Road: An increase of 500 or 13%.

POPULATION LOSSES

N: Walter Reed: A loss of 1400 or 65%.

O: South of the city line between North Capitol and Riggs Rd. A loss of 1600 or 33%.

P: McLean Gardens: A loss of 1400 or 40%.

Q: Georgetown west of Wisconsin Ave. A loss of 2800 or 46%.

R: Georgia Ave corridor between Harvard and Buchanan Sts. A loss of 5600 or 24%.

S: Adams Morgan, Dupont Circle and downtown west of 16th St. A loss of 8200 or 26%.

T: Center City south of Florida Ave between 16th Street and 7th St. A loss of 10,300 or 30%.

U: Between Mass. and Penna. Ave. east of 5th St. A loss of 500 or 32%.

V: Capitol Hill, Southwest and Upper Northeast south of New York Ave. This area lost 34,600 people or 32% of its population.

AA: Far Southeast: Significant population losses continued across the Anacostia River (dotted line) in this area which declined by 28,300 people or 28%.

W: Upper Northeast between Rhode Island Ave and the B&O RR. A loss of 1000 or 20%.

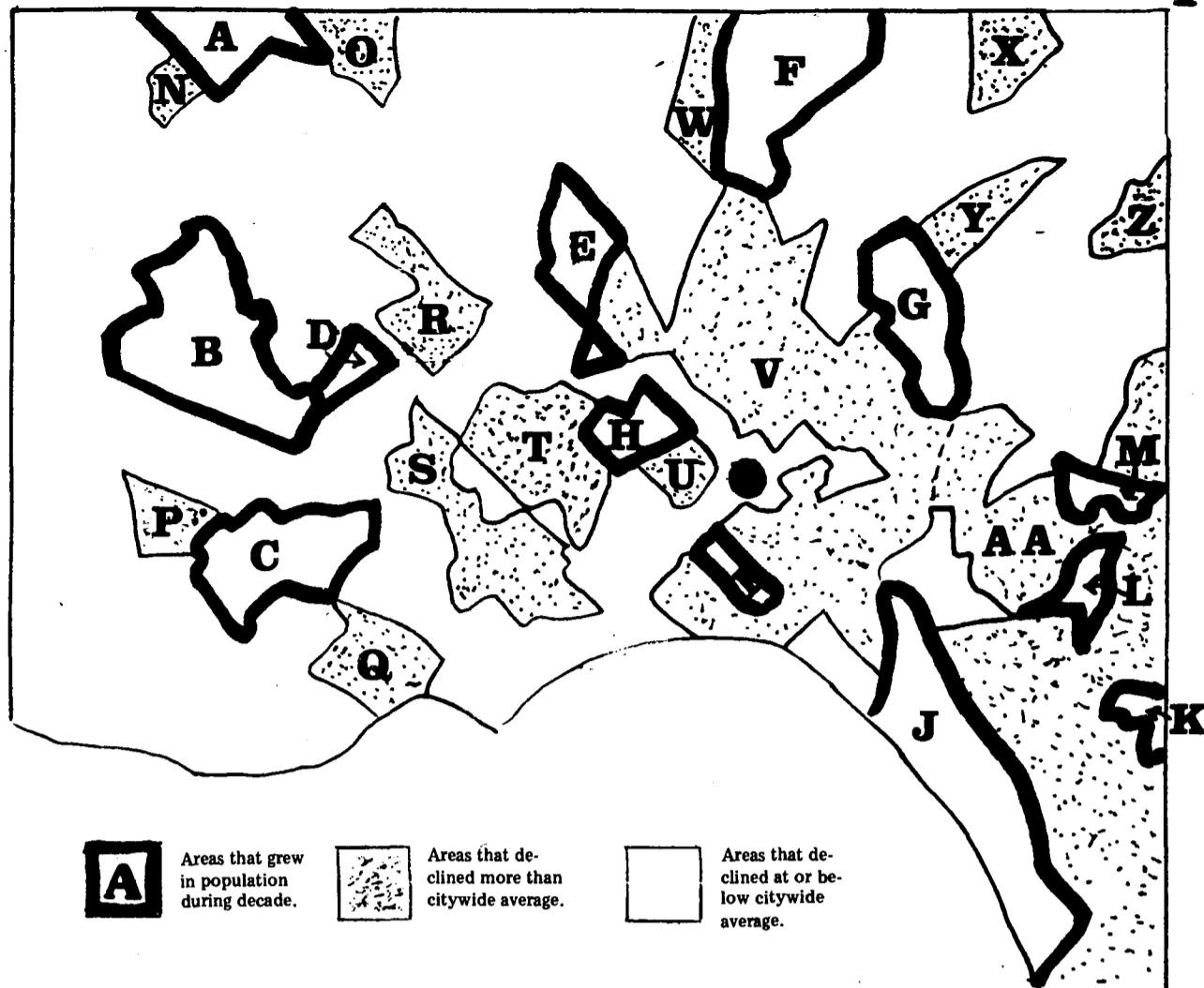
X: East of the B&O RR north of Hayes St. Lost 1800 or 22%.

Y: East of the Anacostia River between Benning Road and East Capitol St. Lost 1400 or 18%.

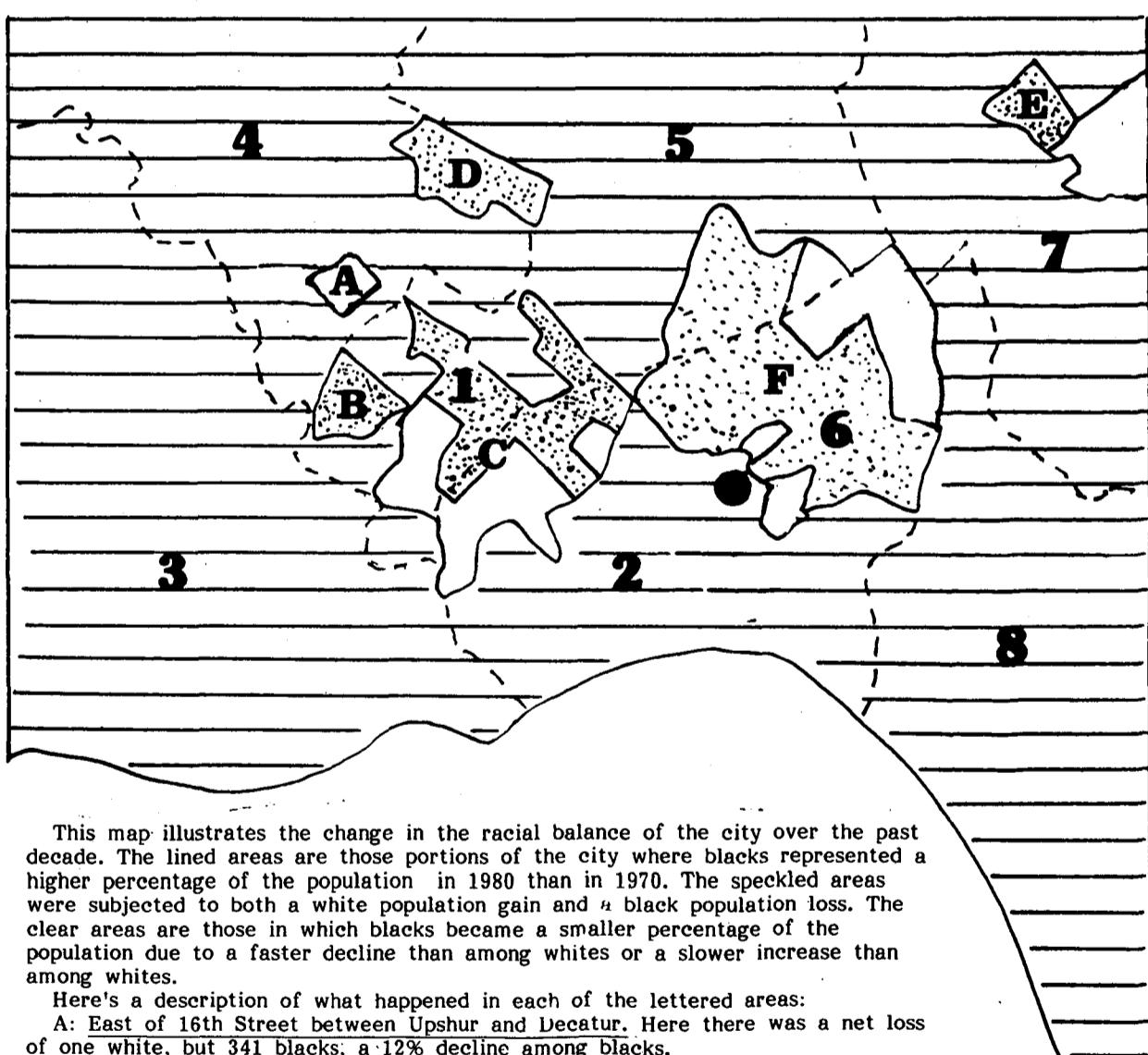
Z: West of the city line north of Ridge Road. A loss of 1900 or 28%.

The communities of population growth shown above gained a total of around 12,000 people during the past decade while the communities of greatest population loss fell by about 100,000. It would appear that where the population grew, building on vacant land, rather than traditional plan and destroy techniques, were a major factor.

The causes of great population loss were more varied but certainly included public and private renewal actions. It is interesting to note that, whatever the benefits of revitalizing downtown are, there will be about 30% fewer people around there to enjoy it. It is also worth noting that the increase in population at Fort Lincoln (F) has been almost totally countered by a loss in an adjoining community (W).



RACIAL CHANGE IN DC



This map illustrates the change in the racial balance of the city over the past decade. The lined areas are those portions of the city where blacks represented a higher percentage of the population in 1980 than in 1970. The speckled areas were subjected to both a white population gain and a black population loss. The clear areas are those in which blacks became a smaller percentage of the population due to a faster decline than among whites or a slower increase than among whites.

Here's a description of what happened in each of the lettered areas:

A: East of 16th Street between Upshur and Decatur: Here there was a net loss of one white, but 341 blacks; a 12% decline among blacks.

B: Mount Pleasant: There were 466 more whites (or 14%) than in 1970 while the black population declined by 1721 (26%).

C: Central City: Here there was a decline among both whites and blacks but in both numbers and percent, the black decline was much greater. The white population lost 1513 persons or 7% while the black population lost 18,421 or 28%.

D: North Capitol St. north of the Old Soldiers Home: A 117 person increase among whites (12%) and a 466 person population loss among blacks (13%).

E: Far Northeast north of East Capitol Street: The handful of whites in these census tracts actually increased by six during the decade (12%) while the black population went down by 719 or 4%.

F: Capitol Hill Area: Here the white population increased by 3731 or 36% while the black population decreased by 27,571 or 36%.

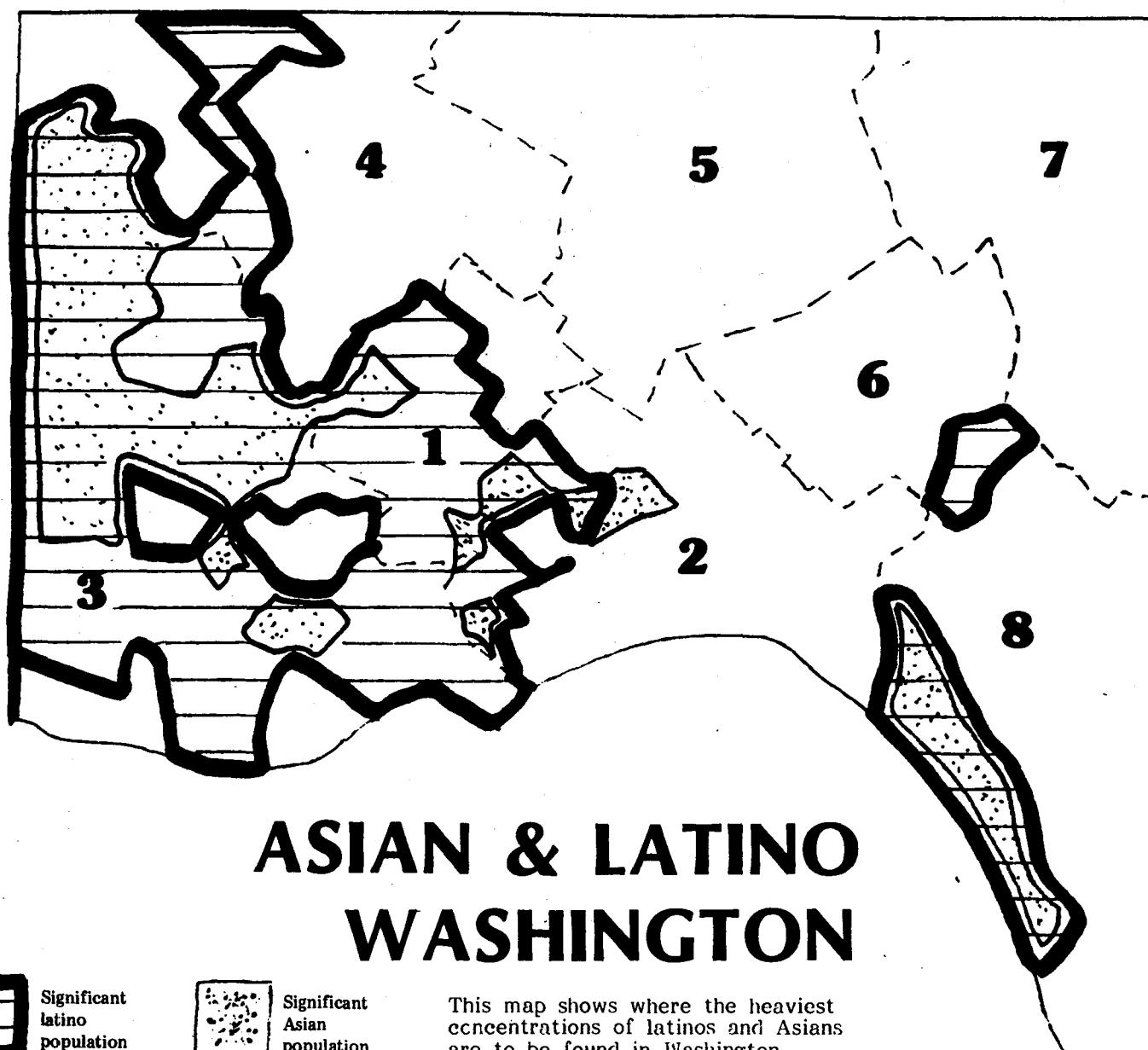
Thus although geographically, most of Washington actually became blacker during the seventies and the black and white population both declined overall at roughly the same rate, the classic model of "gentrification" occurred in certain areas with considerable intensity. The most striking example was Capitol Hill where the black loss was equal to nearly a third of the total black population loss in the city. The same phenomenon could be found on a smaller scale in Mount Pleasant and in parts of the central city. In all, more than half the total black population loss in the city occurred in communities which became whiter during the decade.

Area got blacker during decade

White gain. Black loss.

Area got whiter but both races declined.

Ward boundaries.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THORNY ISSUES

Five thorns to you for not adequately researching issues prior to publication!

For your information I have enclosed a 1978 brochure from my first campaign for political office. You might note that on the fourth page I called for a "mandatory sentence for people who profit from selling illegal drugs." My position on this issue has been consistent, and was not quickly adopted for political expediency.

Furthermore, it is important to distinguish between "mandatory minimum" and "mandatory sentences." I have proposed "mandatory minimum" sentences, which would allow the judge and prosecutors discretion as to how long a sentence to mete out, while telling them the minimal amount acceptable to society. This is a far far cry from "mandatory sentences," which prescribe absolute terms for all offenses.

It should also be noted that I have proposed these sentences only for drug and handgun offenses. The studies concerning cost-effectiveness, to which you refer, were premised upon an across-the-board policy of mandatory sentencing for all offenses. They predict overcrowding as only the initial impact, but foresee the long-term effect to be that of a deterrent.

As for your comments concerning the Zoning Commission, my letter to Mr. Mariani was a matter of public record, as would be any comment submitted during a zoning case. My position has never been a secret. If a particular Dupont Circle supporter was concerned about the issue, but never took the time either

to review the record or to ask my position, the blame can hardly be placed upon me.

JOHN RAY
DC City Council

Thanks for the thorns but:

- The Gazette described mandatory sentencing bills as "politically attractive." This was probably also true in 1978.

- The distinction between "mandatory sentences" and "mandatory minimum" sentences is interesting, but we note it is not one you made in your own campaign brochure.

- It remains our contention that this sort of legislation does more to make people feel something is being done about crime than it actually does about crime.

- It would have been nice if your views on the important question of Dupont Circle zoning had been slightly more accessible than somewhere in the files of the Zoning Commission. - Ed.]



THE TAX CREDIT INITIATIVE

As a Libertarian who is working for the DC educational tax credit initiative, I thought your little item on the initiative was particularly silly (DCG, April).

You say the mayor and school board president Eugene Kinlow are against the initiative. This is one of the best endorsements it could receive. Your paper's contributors often seem to think that they understand class analysis.

Don't you realize that the DC government-controlled school system is an institution that provides votes, income, power, status, and a springboard to the city council races for the people on the school board? Don't you know the history of American public schools as racist institutions that were founded with the intention of indoctrinating non-Anglo-Saxon, non-protestant immigrant children with the dominant culture? Don't you know that state control of education has been used to force students into fields of education useful to the state, particularly the military? Don't you know that the early public schools had an explicit policy of racial segregation and enforcing sex role stereotypes? Don't you know that all of the early American college and high school education for girls and young women was provided by women founding their own private schools?

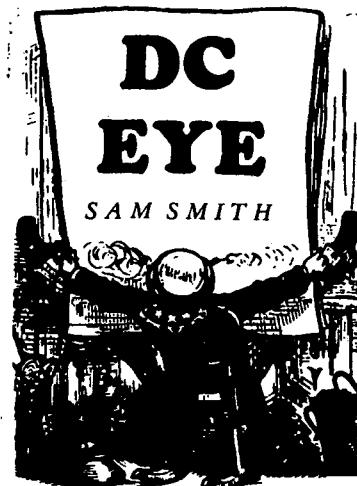
You also state that the initiative is supported by "Jarvis-style tax cutters and Libertarians." Not true. The DC Committee for Improved Education, which is sponsoring the initiative, has many more black parents and Catholics than it does Libertarians or tax-cutters. In fact, I'm the only person from a Libertarian organization who has done any work for the initiative here, and I'm not even on the committee. You also say that we Libertarians and tax-cutters "got interested" in the District when we found out how easy it was to get initiatives on the ballot here. I don't know about anti-tax groups, but over 700 of us Libertarians live in the District. We have had our presidential candidates on the

ballots here twice. We will be running candidates for advisory neighborhood commission and school board this year. We aren't just "interested" in the District. We live here.

Finally, you assert that your readers had better watch out; all those people who don't have children in public schools may just vote this in. We appreciate your optimism on our behalf. Personally, I think this will pass next year, when it is on the ballot the second time — the same as the electoral history of Proposition 13. As for who will vote for it, its supporters will be the parents whose children are currently in the decaying public schools and who want the freedom to go elsewhere. The initiative allows a tax credit for up to \$1200 per donation per child per year for money donated to any child's education, via scholarship fund, school, or direct payment. This is less than the District government's school system spends per child in its custody, so the tax credit isn't going to hurt the state-controlled system's budget. It is just going to allow alternative, competitive, innovative education that isn't controlled by a heterosexist, patriarchal state monopoly.

For those of your readers who actually want to know something about the initiative, I refer them to my recent article in the Washington Blade (April 17). Or write the DC Committee for Improved Education, 711 Maryland Ave. NE, DC 20002. For those of your readers interested in the critique of statist schools, I refer them to Ivan Illich's Deschooling Society, and Joel Spring's The Sorting Machine: Education and the Rise of the Corporate State and Educating the Worker-Citizen.

BRUCE HILL MAJORS
Coordinator
DC Libertarian Party.



Brant Coopersmith, the Ed Sullivan of legalized gambling, is chock full of nifty ideas. One of the problems the new gambling commission faces is how to support itself until enough suckers buy enough tickets to cover expenses. One thought being kicked around is to have the contractor who sets up the system provide the initial kitty as part of the franchise. Another possibility would be to set up an instant game — the type where you just rub off the black coating from the ticket to see if you've won. In an instant game you can control the payout and not face the sort of horror that occurred in Maryland when the winning number turned out to be 711. The state had to pay out \$2.5 million although it had collected about \$1 million less.

Coopersmith also is dreaming about a sort of local edition of the Irish Sweepstakes. Lottery tickets would be sold primarily to tourists. Then, on July 4th, there would be a big drawing. The winning tourist would get half the pot after expenses and the other half would go to an institution of the winner's choice in his or her community. It's an admirable idea although I wonder whether Brant has considered the possibility that a Palestinian winner might choose the PLO as his favorite charity.

But wait, there's more. Coopersmith also thinks the purchase of a number should be deductible as a charitable contribution to the city.

Longtime readers will remember that when the Gazette had an arts section — which later became the Washington Review, the photo editor was Roland Freeman. Freeman also took the pictures that are in Captive Capital. Now Roland has come out with his own book, Southern Roads/City Pavements, published by the International Center of Photography in New York. I'm totally biased about Roland's work, but I've shown the book to a number of other people and they have raved about it, too. The subjects, part rural and part urban and all black, evoke a broad range of emotions from joy and pride to sorrow. Roland remarks in his book, "I'm always struck by the similarities among black people amidst the diversity of the communities where they live and work." Some of the photos are from assignments, some are from family events and some are from just passing through. All are worth looking at once and then again and again. You can order a copy direct from Roland Freeman, 117 Ingraham St. NW, DC 20011. Send \$15 per copy.

The city is trying to come up with money anywhere it can. Budget honcho Gladys Mack has asked all ANCs to rebate ten percent of their funds to help ease the city's crunch. At last report only five of the commissions have kicked back funds for a total of \$5000.

A more hopeful form of penny-pinching is a new policy by the DC government of paying its electricity bills on time. This novel idea is reportedly saving the city about \$135,000 in late payments annually. It's wonderful what people can come up with when there's enough pressure.

I recently ran into a fellow who was doing extensive research into art deco architecture in DC. I was struck by the amount of it around — a classic example is the Hecht's warehouse — and also by the failure of preservation groups to show much interest.

One unbiased newspaper?

"Fortunately, there's one newspaper in Washington that is unbiased," proclaims a resonant voice as two multi-section newspapers with edges to the TV viewer balance on their folds in a bubbling ferment. "Reporters report the facts of the story." The newspaper to the left begins to lean away from the other. "They don't make their opinions a part of the story. Fortunately, there's one newspaper in Washington that is balanced, that presents all the sides to a story." The newspaper on the left topples into the vapor which presumably emanates from Journalism Hell. "Fortunately, this one paper is so good that it won more awards for editorial excellence in 1980 than any other newspaper in Washington." The upright survivor turns to reveal itself: "Fortunately, there's The Washington Star. Get it. Read it."

These 30-second spots first ran at the end of January and will be aired occasionally through the rest of the year. They herald what amounts to journalistic nirvana for The Star: an unbiased newspaper, after all, is an ambition worthy of Sisyphus, not an accomplishment characteristic of even Superman-cum-Clark Kent.

While we await the publication of the first objective newspaper (the wait for The Great American Novel will be over much sooner), The Star was not presumptuous enough to close its ombudsman's office, "fortunately," one is tempted to add. "Calls about bias or inaccuracy or slanted stories or missed stories have not ceased," reports George Beveridge, The Star's ombudsman. He offers the opinion that "sometimes their [callers'] complaints are justified."

Beveridge has been in journalism all of his working life, as a reporter, editorial writer and editor. He received a Pulitzer Prize for reporting in 1959.

Ignore the commercials. Heed George Beveridge: "My perception is that The Star or any newspaper has not achieved objectivity or total lack of bias." - Ken Bresler

Sic transit DC

ATTORNEY (for Citizens Committee to Save Historic Rhodes Tavern): Would it be possible -- did you consider a plan which would have kept only the existing Rhodes Tavern and which would have been able to gain this amount of rentable space in the new construction?

DAVID CHILDS (architect for Oliver Carr): No, we did not. I think that focuses on the primary issue. As I said in the beginning we were not constrained by economic reasons **** for making this recommendation. We were making a recommendation from an architectural point of view, whether right or wrong. We came to the conclusion that if it were cheaper and more in FAR [floor area ratio] to save the Rhodes, that that would be inappropriate from an urban-design point of view. . .

--Testimony given December 10, 1979 at a hearing on an application for a demolition permit to tear down Rhodes Tavern.



From a statement last February by National Capital Planning Commission member Nelson Rimensnyder on a resolution honoring former NCPC chair David Childs.

Ladies and Gentlemen: The chairman and members of this Commission are sworn to promote the general mandate of the National and Capital Planning Act of 1952 to preserve the important natural and historical features and landmarks of the Nation's Capital and to advocate all interests, policies, and laws of the United States consistent with promoting that mandate.

During his tenure as the presidentially-appointed chairman of this Commission, David M. Childs made compensated appearances before the Joint Committee on Landmarks to urge the demolition of historic Rhodes Tavern and other landmark buildings. As NCPC chairman, Mr. Childs also initiated appointments to the Joint Committee.

Because of a conflict between a sworn public trust and a private professional preference to advocate the demolition of Rhodes Tavern by appearing for pay before various review bodies, Mr. Childs injured the credibility and trust of this Commission.

Therefore, Madam chairman and members, I am compelled by duty and conscience to abstain, with profound and sincere regret, from joining you in the approval of this resolution of appreciation for former Chairman Childs.

In further explanation of this action, please permit me to say, for the record, that Rhodes Tavern is not jeopardized by economics, but because of the narrow urban design preference of Mr. Childs and the bad supporting advice of Fine Arts Commission chairman, J. Carter Brown, Wolf Von Eckardt, and Washington Post editorial writers. The Post has not given such bad counsel since advising the District of Columbia to bulldoze and blacktop the C&O Canal in 1954.

In testimony before the Mayor's agent for historic preservation, Mr. Childs admitted that Rhodes Tavern and the Keith-Albee facades could both be part of a design that would not deduct from the maximum rentable space permitted on the site.

Unfortunately, a small group of insiders affiliated with Don't Tear It Down, the so-called historic preservation citizen advocacy organization, secretly agreed to the demolition of Rhodes Tavern two years before serious public negotiations and design reviews were initiated. This action allowed the narrow urban design preferences of a few to prevail over the wide and continuing public support for preserving Rhodes Tavern on its historic site. Thank you.

We lost, for example, the marvellous facade of the old Greyhound bus terminal without a whimper and there is much more in danger. It is worth remembering that historic preservation is more than Victoriana.

The Progressive magazine reports that two CIA officials have told it that a sex club in Washington provided the fertile ground for leaks on the Watergate story. The Progressive quotes its sources as saying that a book, now in preparation, will show that the CIA "deliberately fed the journalists information damaging to Richard M. Nixon through the ever-mysterious Deep Throat."

David Clarke has asked the Census Bureau to adjust its population count for Ward 1. According to Clarke, the census may have missed as many as 612 people in just six of the ward's more than 300 blocks. "These discrepancies," he said, "raise the possibility of undercounts in other blocks in Ward 1 and elsewhere in the city. Clarke's request came after a survey of those blocks credited with only minimal population. The survey found that most of the elderly residents of the 170-unit Campbell Heights Apartments on 15th St and all of the residents of four occupied apartment buildings and more than 100 occupied rowhouses in the Upper Cardozo are uncounted."

Joe Grano keeps coming up with new groups who should get involved in the fight to save Rhodes Tavern. This month he points out that on March 20, 1909, the National Press Club moved into Rhodes, described in a newspaper account as the "beautiful and bohemian gathering place of the newspaper men of the National Capital."

Add to the list of those being hurt by the Reagan juggernaut the over 20,000 people who called a local alcohol/drug hotline last year. The hotline, run by the Washington Area Council on Alcoholism and Drug Abuse is an early victim of the CETA cutbacks. WACADA is seeking other funds to keep the hotline going.

DC has more than 8,000 minority-owned firms with gross receipts of \$260 million annually. DC ranks behind Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, Honolulu and Houston in number of minority-owned firms but ranks behind all of the above plus San Francisco, San Antonio, Detroit and Philadelphia, in the average receipts per firm.

Arrington Dixon has introduced legislation that would prohibit picketing, parading, demonstrating or appearing in public while masked or disguised.

A group has been formed called the DC Coalition Against Reagan-Barry Budget Cuts. There can no longer be any doubt; Marion has made it into the establishment.

Speaking of such matters, you better take this talk about local "enterprise zones" seriously. The idea which Barry and Dixon have copped from the Hard Right, is being given serious study among the economic developers at city hall. These enterprise zones would be a sort of tenderloin district for developers. Barry still hasn't learned that no matter what you do for the downtown welfare fathers they'll be back again for another handout.

I take back my premature early optimism about Judy Bachrach's column. She's turning me towards Richard Cohen in desperation. Bachrach's hea culpa stance even extended to seeing a male plot behind the space shuttle. She found the flight "extremely dull" and asserted that it could only be enjoyed by "certain groups, all of them I might add male," who spoke about the shuttle "in those softly modulated tones of wonderment that normally couch all references to the Shroud of Turin."



TUITION TAX CREDITS

Boon for diploma mills, consultants & gurus

Elsewhere in this issue, Bruce Hill Majors, coordinator of the local Libertarian Party, states succinctly and perceptively the strongest case that can be made against public education. Similar conclusions, albeit not similar complaints, can be found in an article in the most recent Washingtonian by Howard Means.

Both writers, however, seem to miss a crucial point: just because public education currently has distressingly little to recommend it, one can not assume that a system of non-public education would be any better. Here are just a few contraindications to the Majors-Means analysis of the situation:

- There is little evidence that private-parochial education is any less value-laden than public. I can't really believe, for example, that Majors considers Coolidge High School more sexist, racist and other ist than St. Albans. The free marketplace of ideas has, in fact, produced some of the most discriminatory, elitist and power-holding institutions of our time. Does Majors really prefer the social history of the St. Grottosex schools and the Ivy League to that of the better state universities and public highschools? Is the local archbishop less culturally biased than Jim Guines or Vince Reed?

But I suspect Majors is not talking about such schools; he's talking about the sort of nonpublic education he envisions with his best libertarian imagination. I might even go along with his dream. But he's rigging the game by forcing public education to live with its grimdest history while freeing non-public education to the realm of projection and potential. Fifteen yards penalty for selective blocking of the past.

Howard Means's selectivity is of a different version. Howard simply can't see why every public school can't be as good as St. Albans—where he used to teach. In the first place, schools like St. Albans simply are not as good as their advocates like to assume. Howard unintentionally reveals, for example, the liabilities of an education too heavily weighted towards the humanities as he muddles data such as parochial school tuition figures (If Bill Simons would accept nuns's wages for his teachers, we could cut the DC school budget, too).

Further, it can be argued that social values of a school such as St. Albans, which is dedicated to continuing the primacy of male Episcopalians in American political and commercial life, cancel out any academic gain.

Even, however, if the best private schools were actually to meet their potential, there is little to support the notion that they would, under a system heavily non-public, be typical. Even in DC's rather blighted school system, a few schools such as Wilson and Deale qualify for better than a wild-card position in the local academic playoffs. There are some private and parochial schools that are better and some that are worse.

Anyone with practical rather than theoretical experience with both public and private schools is not likely to be overwhelmed by the inherent superiority of either. They both have virtues and they both have liabilities and how these balance out depends upon where you live and what schools and what year you're talking about.

- Of course, under a voucher or tuition-credit system we would not have to rely upon archaic, effete traditional alternatives to public education. A whole new chain of schools would open, dedicated to freeing the human mind in its search for the truth.

Or at least this is what I understand to be the theory. It is a theory that can best be maintained by one who has never watched the

ads on Channel 20 for computer programming emporia or has never read the sorry articles in almost any large city about the inadequacies and ethical problems involved with proprietary vocational training for secreties, accountants et al. For every would-be Ivan Illich or Paul Goodman there are a half-dozen hustlers pushing their wares upon the unsuspecting.

Besides the commercial diploma-mills, we could expect to see hordes of erstwhile educational consultants -- their federal water cut off by the Reagan administration -- rushing to construct self-actualization centers all around town.

A fine publication out of Glassboro, New Jersey, The Underground Grammian, puts the matter well:

"[Parents's] choices of schools for their children will be no more the fruit of informed and thoughtful discretion than their choices of deodorants and designer jeans. The support they might withdraw, through vouchers or credits, from one pack of fools and charlatans they would fork over to another of the same, which, furthermore, will usually be an ad hoc reconstitution of the first pack, now happily embarked on what is for them just one more obviously profitable, bold, innovative thrust.

"We can understand the angry desperation out of which even thoughtful citizens can propose, as a remedy for the ills caused by one governmental contraption, yet another governmental contraption. And any system for credits will be exactly that, a wholly owned subsidiary of the state and a bureaucratic agency for the propagation of ideology and the enforcement of 'standards.' And the standards will be devised not by the enthusiasts of vouchers, who don't really know exactly what they want anyway, but the same old coalition of educationists and unionists and politicians and social engineers and manufacturers of gimmicks and publishers of pseudobooks, who do know exactly what they want, and exactly how to get it.

"It is simply naive to imagine that our government, or any government anywhere, will construe tax credits or vouchers as a way of letting its citizens keep, and spend as they please, some of their own money. **** Should credits or vouchers be provided by law, the same law would have to provide as quid pro quo to a tremendous and noisy lobby of government employees, that most of the policies and practices that make the private schools what they are would suddenly become illegal. When private schools are required to

Behavior Modification



in the Classroom Situation

hire certified graduates of state teacher academies and to offer all the mandated mickey-mousery of social adjustment disguised as 'studies,' and to make sure that the ninth grade textbook for Appreciation of Alternative Life Styles doesn't use any tenth grade vocabulary words, then the erstwhile voucherites will long for the good old days, when you could at least get what you paid for, and when the private schools actually were an alternative to government education.

"Those voucher and credit schemes were probably not cooked up by a conspiracy of educationists. Those people aren't that smart. But you just can't beat them for luck."

Besides, if the diploma mills and the educationists don't gobble up all the tax credit money, there will be plenty of transcendental gurus to take the rest. At least these mom & pop messiahs had to do their own thing in the sixties and seventies unaided by public subsidy; now, presumably, crowds of naked urchins running through the park chanting random syllables while blowing dandelion seeds to the winds could become part of the basic urban budget.

• Since tuition (for any decent school at least) would have to exceed the tax credit, it is difficult to see how the proposed system would be more than a tease for the less affluent.

• There is considerably more potential for parents to gain control over public schools than there is for them to influence private and parochial schools. Small as the progress has been towards community control in public education, it is still several steps ahead of what can be found in the private or parochial spheres.

• The Majors-Means critiques ignore some of the real reasons public schools fail and why both public and private schools fail. The decline of educational quality that Means cites, for example, is by no stretch of the imagination limited to public schools nor are the causes necessarily all within the province of schools. The decline of reading under the assault of television is, to take just one case, an influence that schools of whatever sort can only partially affect.

Further, public schools are today -- as always -- simply meeting the market. If there are no jobs for fifty percent of the graduates of a high school, there is no reason to educate them for illusionary employment. This is the brutal core of urban public education's failure: its products don't need education because society doesn't need them. This is accepted implicitly in every bad school system by students, parents, teachers and administrators. The best way to improve the schools is to have jobs for their graduates.

The other great weakness in urban schools - - which might at least mitigate the harm done by the problem cited above, is that the parents do not have a coherent conception of what they want the system to do for their children. In this way, modern black public education differs from early education for the would-be upwardly mobile. Until black parents start telling school systems in some organized way how they want their children educated the present conceptual anarchy will continue unabated and the pseudo-experts of education will call the shots.

• Finally, there is the question of equity. A recent issue of Washington Teacher makes the argument well:

"If we decided that the government should provide special aid to those who happen to choose non-public services over public services, then we should provide a tax credit to the drinker of Perrier who disdains public water, to the driver of an automobile who chooses not to use mass transit, to the golfer who uses the private links rather than the public golf course."

The argument for tuition tax credits must rise or fall, not upon the failings of the DC public school system, but on the virtue of its alternative. The case for the former, of which we will hear much in coming months, has long been adequately made. But those arguing for tax credits have yet to provide a realistic reason for believing their alternative would be any better. — SAM SMITH



THE HIT LIST

Tregaron



• Plans are afoot to create a planned unit development at Tregaron on a 14 1/2 acre site of an old estate northwest of the National Zoo. Under present zoning a maximum of 80 houses would be permitted. Upzoning the property one step would only permit 120 houses. The developer, however, wants to construct 50% more houses than even this increased zoning would normally allow. If this PUD is approved, then similar assaults on current zoning could take place in any neighborhood of the city.

• In addition, 80% of the land has a 15% or greater incline and many environmental experts believe construction should be banned on such slopes. A number of communities already have laws to prevent such construction -- but not DC.

• The property is designated an historic landmark but if the plan goes through many of the ancillary historic aspects including viaducts, stone walls and bridges are in danger.

• The Soil Survey of the District of Columbia, speaking of the type of soil that predominates at Tregaron, notes: "Permeability is moderately rapid, and runoff is rapid. The hazard of erosion is severe on this soil. Slope and stoniness severely limit this soil for most building purposes."

• The estate is situated between two forks of a national park -- Rock Creek Park. The National Capital Planning Commission entered into a contract for a scenic easement for the portion facing Klingle Road but has not exercised its option to acquire that property. This segment, along with a steep ravine which faces Macomb Street, has been described by the National Park Service as "the critical environmentally sensitive areas in the estate. The parklike atmosphere which has been created by careful planning, landscaping and maintenance of these areas of the estate are worthy of protection."

• A good many trees in the wooded tract would be destroyed by the development.

• The streets nearby are already heavily travelled and the development would add to the congestion. Critics also complain of the lack of adequate parking in the plans.

If you are interested in helping to prevent the worst from happening to Tregaron, contact Friends of Tregaron, 2928 Macomb St. NW, DC 20008. The president is Sheldon Holen, 966-7472, and the vice president is Kathleen Wood, 244-1276.

ROSES & THORNS

ROSES to Carol Schwartz who has announced that she will not run for re-election this year. We've had a fair number of differences with Carol over the years but she's done her school board job seriously and with considerable skill.

A TENTATIVE ROSE to Marion Barry and the DC Department of Transportation for moving ahead, at least on a temporary basis and at least during morning rush hour, with a plan to reduce traffic on Reno Road. Lane and turn restrictions go into effect June 29 for a six-month period after a community struggle of several years to get this residential street changed from being a quasi-freeway.

THORNS to Sen. Strom Thurmond for attaching a provision for a local death penalty in DC to a bill to create nationwide mandatory penalties for gun-related crimes. As David Clarke said, Thurmond's move "cuts at the very heart of home rule and democracy. The notion of an elected government, itself wholly opposed to capital punishment, presiding over the executions of persons because the Congress insists that it do so is repugnant to everything this country and this city stands for."

ROSES to the DC Human Rights Commission for ruling that cab companies as well as drivers are liable for refusals to pick up passengers.

ROSES to George Larcher Jr. of the Post for his recent articles on the terrorism hoopla and the impact on American civil liberties. It's best to get on this rot early so we don't have to end up referring to the "era of Dentonism."

THORNS TO KEITH RICHBURG for assuming, in a Post article on the death penalty, that DC whites are overwhelmingly in favor of capital punishment. Richburg quoted national poll that indicated seventy percent of whites favor capital punishment, as opposed to only about half of blacks. Richburg then leaps to the conclusion that DC whites feel the same way and quotes one white who supports the death penalty as being "typical" of the white community. Remember, Keith, more than one source, please.

ROSES TO Alan Grip, the DC government's communications director, who is resigning as head of an office that has provided a high level of information and a low level of political poppycock.

THORNS to the DC Police Department for failing to cooperate with the Star's excellent survey of crime in the area broken down by census tract. A representative of the police told the Star, "To release such current information could disclose investigative techniques and procedures not generally known outside the government, and give rise to severe unwarranted invasions of privacy." The latest figures the DC cops would provide were from 1979. Fortunately, other jurisdictions in the area didn't take such a nonsensical view and as a result the Star was able to come up with a first-rate piece of useful crime reporting.

ROSES to All Things Considered, which celebrates its tenth anniversary this month. Although the show is, of course, a national one, we like to think of its as a hometown product since co-host Susan Stamberg used to run "Kaleidoscope" on WAMU and was that station's program director and general manager in the early sixties. ATC is heard on WAMU at 630 pm each weekday and on WETA-FM at 5 pm.

CABLE TV IS COMING TO DC: BUT WHO WILL OWN IT?

Bruce Jacobs

Cable television is coming to the District, and a group of local residents is working to see that the cable system is owned by the community, as a cooperative. What follows is a description of our reasons for organizing, our goals, and our plans.

After years of cable companies saying that there was no money to be made by wiring big cities like Washington, there has been a sudden boom in interest. In the past year, Pittsburgh, Minneapolis, Cincinnati, Dallas, and many other cities have awarded franchises to cable companies. Financial analysts are predicting a bright future for the cable industry. Having found a solid base of revenue from the distribution of entertainment programming—mostly movies and sports, the industry is expected to expand with revenues from advertising, data transmission, security services, and other uses.

It is tempting to think that the technology of the cable industry is alone enough to insure that the community will be served by its arrival. Unfortunately, however, it is extremely unlikely that the traditional franchise operators, large cable companies with systems in other cities, will have either the foresight or the civic-mindedness to develop cable as a community resource available to all segments of the population.

Several companies have expressed interest in providing service to the District. The council and the mayor have said that they would like to have legislation passed this year. This legislation would be the first step in giving some business entity the right to lay cable through the streets of Washington to provide cable television to the estimated 100,000 or more households (out of 250,000 households) that would pay from \$10 to \$30 a month for service. Though no definitive study has been done, people estimate that construction of a state-of-the-art system, with more than fifty channels and two-way interactive capacity, will take three to five years and cost from \$60-100 million. If the city council acts according to schedule, the franchise could be awarded at the beginning of 1982.

Many people are worried that traditional franchising, where the city government requests bids from cable companies and then awards a 15 year franchise to one of them, is not the way to go. In city council hearings on March 17, several members of the council expressed concern about giving away such a valuable public property right to a private, profit-seeking company. A task force from the mayor's office testified that it is studying the possibility of establishing a privately-financed development corporation to construct and operate the cable system.

One concern with traditional franchising is that the company will not fulfill the promises it makes in its application—something that has happened in a number of places, including nearby Arlington. In Arlington, for example, the franchise operator promised to supply equipment and training so local residents could produce their own programming for use of the

cable system. So far, the company has supplied only two of the ten portable video cameras that it promised, and it has failed to supply the promised full color studio, training, and support staff. Similar promises were made and broken to establish programming capability for the county schools, libraries, and government agencies and to televise county meetings. Typically, the Arlington County government finds that it cannot do very much either to investigate adequately the company's excuses or to force the company to adhere to its commitments.

Another concern is that the franchise operator will not upgrade the system as new technologies and new services become available. The cable industry is changing rapidly, and new technologies, like fiber optics, and new services, like electronic mail, may become available after the franchise is granted. The group is concerned that the franchise operator, as a monopolist, will not want to make the additional investment needed to add these new technologies and services. Many other cities, particularly those that issued franchises several years ago, have been burned when the franchise operator refused to provide new services that might be financially feasible, but that might have reduced the company's profits.

The group is also concerned that, as a profit-seeking company, the traditional franchise operator cares more about making money for investors than it does about helping to build a better community. Cable television has tremendous potential for spurring economic and community development in the District. With an emphasis on training, local residents can find work in construction, maintenance, program production, marketing, operations, and other areas of the cable industry. Properly managed, the millions of dollars generated each year by the cable system can be used to develop the local economy. Our concern is that a traditional franchise operator will not have adequate incentive to emphasize and develop these aspects of the cable system.

Many of the potential benefits of cable television cannot be measured in financial terms, or at least not in such a way that the traditional franchise operator would have any incentive to promote their availability. Cable television has the potential to be one of the greatest tools for community development. At its best, it will provide interested people with an inexpensive and very accessible outlet for sharing their ideas and their concerns about how to make the District a better place. Whether it's a program on alcoholism and drug abuse, a school play, a course on car repair, a foreign language program, an ANC meeting, a showcase for a local musician, quick information about public transit schedules and car pooling, or the high school basketball games, cable tv can bring all of us closer in touch to what's happening in the community. Some of these programs ought not be very profitable, but that's all the more reason to be worried that a private, commercial company will get the franchise.

The best way to bring those benefits of cable tv to the residents of the District, according to a group of local people who first met at All Souls Church on March 10, is to set up a cable cooperative to own and operate the cable tv system. A cable cooperative would be made up of District residents who subscribe to the cable system. Each member of the cooperative would get one vote in the election of the cooperative's board of directors. The board would in turn hire management and set policy. Ideally, the cooperative form of ownership guarantees that the system is designed and operated in the best interests of the subscribers. Any surplus in revenues ("profit" to a commercial cable company) would either be returned to the subscribers as a rebate or used to upgrade services. A cooperative insures that the consumer will come first. Since the board and management represent the consumers, they will have an incentive to provide the services that consumers want at the most reasonable prices. And, if the consumers aren't satisfied, they won't have to wait until the franchise expires to try to get the council to change things; instead, they can simply elect a new board of directors and get rid of the old management. In a time when communications technology is becoming an increasingly important part of our lives and is at the same time undergoing dramatic changes, it is more than ever necessary to have this institutionalized form of consumer protection.

Over 60 million Americans belong to some form of cooperative, whether it is a credit union, housing co-op, rural electric or telephone cooperative, or other kind of cooperative. In the District, many residents are familiar with Group Health Association, Greenbelt Cooperative, Inc. (which operates Scan furniture stores and Greenbelt supermarkets), and the many employee credit unions.

There are over fifty cooperative cable systems in the United States. So far, all of them are in rural areas, where people are more familiar with cooperatives. But there are cooperative efforts underway in a number of other cities.

A cable cooperative in the District might take any of a number of forms. One possibility is for the cooperative to own and operate the entire cable system. This would involve raising a great deal of money, something that would probably be done through a combination of membership shares, limited partnerships, industrial revenue bonds, preferred non-voting stock, and loans. Another possibility is for the cooperative to participate in a joint venture with either the District government or a private cable company. Yet another possibility is for the cooperative to own and operate either a geographic or functional segment of the system, i.e. the cooperative might operate the cable system in a particular neighborhood or it might produce programming for the community channels.

At this point, it is the group's intention to participate as fully as possible in the franchising process. Our efforts will provide a yard-

stick against which the competitors will be judged. As a result, the cooperative's participation will inevitably mean a better cable television system for the District. There is a lot of work to be done before the group's goals are realized. In the coming weeks the cooperative will be starting the following activities:

- a petition drive; we hope to collect several thousand signatures to convince the mayor and city council that there is a consistency for community ownership of so valuable a resource as cable tv;
- monitoring and lobbying the council and the mayor;
- fundraising; we must raise a half million dollars to mount a public relations effort comparable to what can be expected from the private cable companies;
- preparation of the franchise application; this involves engineering and marketing studies and development of programming ideas, and financial packaging;
- education and outreach with interested community groups and institutions; we plan to work with the community to develop ideas for the design and use of the cable system.

Anyone interested in further information or in helping out, should contact Bruce Jacobs at 462-2520, or write Ad Hoc Committee for Cooperative Cable, P.O. Box 12038, Washington, DC 20005.



Rev. Gregory Sr.

Rev. Gregory Jr.

Rev. Gregory III

country to watch the Rev. Gregory III preach a sermon and hear Shiloh's senior choir, and gospel chorus "make a joyful noise unto the Lord."

The easygoing Rev. Gregory III is pleased at the distinction, but views the national telecast as a tribute to Shiloh's long history of community involvement and unique urban ministry.

That ministry began in Roanoke, Va., during slavery with the Rev. Robert Broad, a plasterer and minister.

His son-in-law, Henry C. Gregory, Sr., an educator and teacher, became a minister. In turn, his son, Henry C. Gregory, Jr. not only became a minister, but was an activist who organized the NAACP chapter in West Virginia's McDowell County. He still lives in West Virginia.

"All four of the Henry Gregories were born under the sign of Leo," said the Rev. Kenneth E. Burke Jr., Shiloh's education minister.

With a membership of more than 5,000, Shiloh Baptist Church, which was founded by emancipated slaves from Fredericksburg, Va., manages to keep busy four professional clergymen, three graduate student interns, several pupil and volunteer associates and a team of full-time lay personnel.

THE LIST OF CHURCH activities is staggering. Housing, health care, tutoring, adult literacy classes, income tax assistance, after school guidance, enrichment programs for children, a political task force, a housing task force, a prison ministry, a ministry on mental health, a senior citizens club, nutrition club, ski club and bowling league.

"We're also completing a Family Life Center, the first of its kind in the nation," continued the Rev. Gregory III. "It will include a banquet hall seating 750, a bowling alley, a basketball court, a jacuzzi pool for senior citizens, racquet ball and underground parking."

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Added Rev. Burke, "We expect to take away some of that banquet business from the Mayflower downtown."

GREGORY, WHO HOLDS two master's degrees in sacred theology from Drew University (cum laude) and Harvard, has pastored at Shiloh for eight years. His own heavy schedule of community activities competes with the church's.

"All of these activities are an extension of my philosophy. The church is the one institution that blacks can call their own. Historically, it has been a means of advocacy for survival and the socialization of black people.

"In the future, the black church will have a primary role in the debate and projection of the agenda in the black community.

"But we have something no other institution can claim," he continued. "The black minister is the one person in the community who has a meeting once a week."

Philadelphia Daily News

District of Columbia: The Gem of the Ocean

As the nation's capital, the District of Columbia should project the image that America wants to convey, both to its own citizens and to the world. To the tourist, the casual visitor, it is a beautiful city with its numerous inner-city parks, its wide boulevards, its imposing architecture.

But within easy walking distance of the White House, the Capitol, and the Supreme Court, there exist some of the most impoverished neighborhoods to be found anywhere in America.

The results are predictable, preventable, and tragic. The overall rate of imprisonment for the District in 1979 was 672.7 per 100,000 population, the highest of any state in the country. (And the country's rate is the highest of any western nation except South Africa.) This monstrous rate of imprisonment—considerably higher than that of either South Africa or the Soviet Union—is even more monstrous when broken down by race.

Washington, DC, the symbolic center of "the free world," while imprisoning 103.9 white people per 100,000 population, locks up more than 900 black people per 100,000 population. When further divided by sex, the rate at which the nation's capital cages black males is a staggering 1,682 per 100,000 population. In a city whose male population is 72% black, these rates mean just this: there are, today, more than 4,500 black men locked up in the District of Columbia—more than 1.5% of the black male population.

That sobering, humiliating rate is exceeded by eleven states in the United States—the land of opportunity.

CHUCK STONE

Shiloh's family

When Henry C. Gregory III was a child, folks would look at the son of the Rev. Henry C. Gregory Jr. and smile in that smug way older people have of acting as if they were seers with a pipeline to the future.

"WE KNOW WHAT you're going to be," they would confidently predict.

After all, the Rev. Gregory Jr.'s father had been a minister and his father's father and father-in-law had all be ministers. How could a young man interrupt three generations of ministers?

Henry III laughed as he reminisced about his youthful years.

"I said 'no way.' I didn't feel it was my vocation. I kind of rebelled against it. My father was hyped on that legacy, but no me.

"I even studied Greek and Latin at Howard University, fully expecting to end up in some embassy as a cultural attache."

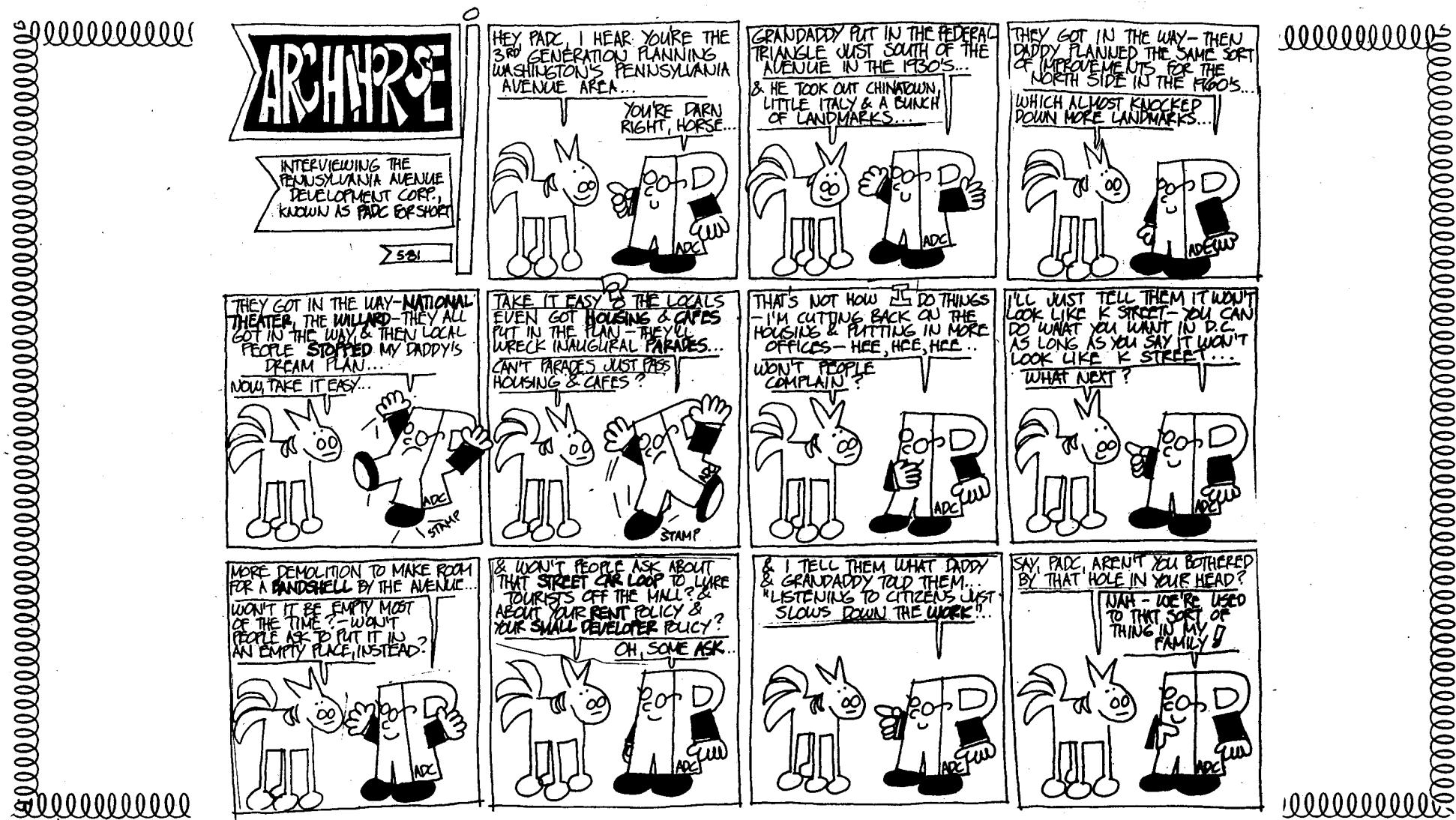
Apparently a higher authority had different ideas. "Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old, he will not depart from it."

Today, the 45-year-old Rev. Henry C. Gregory III, a fourth generation clergyman, ministers to one of Washington, D.C.'s largest and oldest black churches, Shiloh Baptist Church.

What about his 8-year-old son, Henry IV?

WHEN HE WAS 3, somebody asked him if he wanted to be a minister. "Just like I did when I was young, he said, 'no way.' He was going to be a zoo keeper," The clergyman chuckled. "At least he's now upgraded it. He wants to be a veterinarian."

On Easter Sunday morning, the future veterinarian; his older sister, Lisa and their mother, Muriel (a teacher and third-year law student) joined millions of worshippers around the



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NOTICE: The Gazette has secured the rights to "Captive Capital" and can now offer it to its readers 40% off the list price of \$10. For Gazette readers: \$6!

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ALLEY LIFE IN WASHINGTON: Family, Community, Religion and Folklife in the City, 1850-1970. By James Borchert. Borchert challenges conventional wisdom that the impact of the city led to the breakdown of migrants' social institutions. Borchert shows how Washington's alley dwellers adapted patterns that permitted continuity and survival in an often harsh environment. The male-headed nuclear family composed the fundamental unit in this urban subculture, but extended families, kinship networks, alley communities, and folk and religious traditions continued to provide coherence and to help alley dwellers cope with the rigors of everyday life. Forgoing outside assistance, these self-reliant people adjusted to their limited incomes and tiny quarters by using folk cures, remedies, and food sources, as well as by devising ingenious furniture. These crowded but isolated and homogeneous populations were able to shape close-knit communities, with social hierarchies which administered aid and comfort to the needy, but which also punished transgressors. This book is being sold by the Gazette at 20% off list price. \$14.80.